AUSTEN'S RAINBOW: A PSYCHOBIOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF JANE AUSTEN'S CAREER DEVELOPMENT

by

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PORTRAIT OF JANE AUSTEN

Retrieved from https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw00230/Jane-Austen

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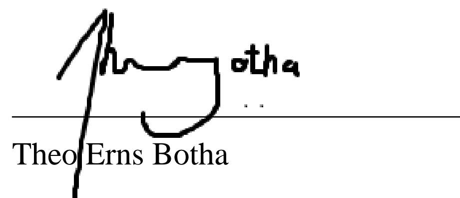

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PORTRAIT OF JANE AUSTEN .... **i**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .... **ii**

STUDENT DECLARATION .... **iii**

DECLARATION BY THE LANGUAGE EDITOR .... **iv**

DECLARATION BY APA EDITOR .... **v**

TURNITIN DIGITAL RECEIPT .... **vi**

TABLE OF CONTENTS .... **vii**

ABSTRACT .... **xvi**

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND PROBLEM STATEMENT

1.1. Chapter Preview 1

1.2. General Orientation to the Study 1

1.3. Problem Statement 2

1.4. The Research Subject 4

1.5. Research Aim 6

1.6. Theoretical Approach: Super's (1980, 1990) Life-Space, Life-Span Theory 7

1.7. Researcher's Reflective Passage and Motivation for the Study 9

1.8. Overview of the Structure of the Study 10

CHAPTER 2

CAREERS: THE LIFE-SPAN, LIFE-SPACE APPROACH

2.1. Introduction 11

2.2. Differentiating Careers and Related Terms..11

2.2.1. Occupations 12

2.2.2. Work and labour 12

2.2.3. Jobs and Employment...13

2.2.4. Callings and Vocations..14

2.2.5. Professions..15

2.2.6. Occupational Careers..16

2.3. Defining Careers 16

2.4. Overview of Related Career Developmental Theories 17

2.4.1. Levinson (1976, 1978): Seasons of Life and Transitions 18

2.4.2. Cron (1984): Career Tasks...19

2.4.3. Havighurst (1981): One-Career Work Cycle 19

2.4.4. Bordin (1990): Psychosexual Personality and Work-Play Fusion 21

2.4.5. Erikson (1960, 1969): Psychosocial Theory 22

2.4.6. Adler (1939, 1992): Individual Psychology 23

2.4.7. Roe (1957): Need Theory 24

2.4.8. Critiques against the Related Career Developmental Theories 24

2.5. Life-Span, Life-Space Theory of Career Development 26

2.5.1. Donald Edwin Super 26

2.5.2. Career Development Across Space 28

2.5.3. Career Development across Time 35

2.5.4. Career Patterns 49

2.5.5. A Note on Mini-cycles 50

2.5.6. Career Commitment 51

2.5.7. Career Maturity and Adaptability 52

2.6. Integration: Models of Career Development 53

2.6.1. Career Rainbow 54

2.6.2. Career Archway Model 55

2.7. Critiques of Super's (1910 – 1994) Career Theory 56

2.8. The Present Status of Super's Theoretical Contributions 60

2.9. Chapter Conclusion 62

CHAPTER 3

JANE AUSTEN'S LIFE AND CONTEXT

3.1. Introduction to the Chapter 63

3.2. Historical Background: Georgian and Regency Period England 63

3.3. A Brief Note on Novels: Setting the Scene for Jane's Career 66

3.4. Jane Austen: A Historical Sketch 68

3.4.1. Before Jane: Household and family-of-origin background *68*

3.4.2. Steventon (1775-1787) *71*

3.4.3. Juvenilia: Adolescence (1787-1793) *78*

3.4.4. Novels (1795-1799) *83*

3.4.5. Bath (1800-1805) *87*

3.4.6. Chawton (1805-1817) *90*

3.5. Post-mortem: Rising Popularity and Influence 96

3.6. Chapter Conclusion 98

CHAPTER 4

PSYCHOBIOGRAPHY: A THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

4.1. Chapter Overview 99

4.2. Locating Psychobiography in Social Science Research 99

4.2.1. A brief history of the social sciences *100*

4.2.2. Qualitative approaches *102*

4.2.3. Psychobiography as case study research *104*

4.3. The Alliance Between Biography and Psychology 106

4.4. Psychobiography: Definitions and Descriptions 107

4.5. Differentiating Concepts Related to Psychobiography 109

4.5.1. Biographies, autobiographies, and psychobiographies *109*

4.5.2. Psychohistory, historical psychology, historiometry, historiography and psychobiographies *110*

4.5.3. Psychological assessment, career assessment, and psychobiographies *111*

4.5.4. Life stories, life histories and psychobiographies *112*

4.5.5. Hagiographies, pathographies, and psychobiographies *113*

4.6. History of and New Trends in Psychobiography 114

4.6.1. Themes in the historical development of international psychobiographies *115*

4.6.2. History and trends in South African psychobiography *124*

4.7. The Value, Criticism, and Limitations of Psychobiography 127

4.7.1. Value of psychobiography *127*

4.7.2. Limitations and criticisms of psychobiography *132*

4.8. Chapter Summary 136

CHAPTER 5

PRELIMINARY METHODOLOGICAL AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

5.1. Introduction 137

5.2. Preliminary Considerations in Psychobiography: Methodology 137

5.2.1. Researcher subjectivity, bias, and expectation inflation *140*

5.2.2. Reductionism *148*

5.2.3. Decontextualisation. *155*

5.2.4. Biographical data abundance, evidence inadequacy, and absent subjects. *161*

5.2.5. Easy Genre and Elitism *172*

5.3. Considerations in Psychobiography: Quality Control 176

5.3.1. Considering trustworthiness, rigour, resonance and meaningful coherence.......177

5.3.2. Applying trustworthiness, rigour, resonance and meaningful coherence in this study. 185

5.4. Ethical Considerations in Psychobiography..191

5.4.1. Precautions in psychobiography: Ethics..191

5.4.2. Ethical considerations in this study..197

5.5. Conclusion..199

CHAPTER 6

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

6.1. Chapter Preview 200

6.2. Research Design and Methodology..200

6.3. Sampling the Psychobiographical Subject 202

6.4. Research Aim and Secondary Objective 204

6.5. Data collection, extraction, and analysis 206

6.5.1. Irving Alexander's (1988, 1990) data reduction strategies 207

6.5.2. Psychohistorical Matrix 215

6.6. Ethics in this Study...216

6.7. Reiterating the Trustworthiness, Resonance, and Meaningful Coherence of this Study 218

6.8. Chapter Summary...220

CHAPTER 7

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

7.1. Introduction 221

7.2. Reviewing the Conceptualisation Outline...221

7.3. Jane Austen's Rainbow Career Development..223

7.3.1. Growth Stage (birth – 14 years)..224

7.3.2. Exploration Stage (15 – 24 years)...246

7.3.3. Establishment Stage (25 – 44 years) 261

7.4. Conclusion...277

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1. Chapter Preview 279

8.2. Revisiting the Study's Aim and Objective...279

8.3. Summary of Significant Research Findings..280

8.4. Value and Contribution of the Study...281

8.5. Limitations 283

8.5.1. The Choice of Psychobiographical Subject..283

8.5.2. The Theoretical Anchor...286

8.5.3. Single-Case Study Designs in Psychobiography..288

8.6. Recommendations for Future Research 289

8.7. Final Reflection 295

8.8. Chapter Summary 299

References 300

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Career ladder for a visual guide to the career development process ...377

Appendix B: Katz, Rudolph and Zacher's (2019) negative curvilinear relationship between chronological age and career commitment 378

Appendix C: Graphic representation of Super's (1980) career rainbow....................379

Appendix D: Archway of career determinants..380

Appendix E: List of Jane Austen films, TV series and film adaptations 381

Appendix F: Matrix of career development across Jane Austen's historical stages..384

Appendix G: Chronological list of Master's and Doctoral degree psychobiographical outputs at South African Universities..385

Appendix H: Jane Austen's Career Rainbow..388

Appendix I: Reflective Questions...389

ABSTRACT

Even though several persistent calls for the intentional selection of historically significant women in psychobiography have been made, many psychobiographers continue to select men as their subjects. Although there is an increased diversification of psychobiographical subjects internationally, psychobiographers often deem men as more historically significant than women. It was, therefore, crucial to select an influential and historically significant woman, such as Jane Austen, for this study.

Jane Austen (1775-1817) was an elusive, yet a highly influential woman who lived and wrote during the Georgian and Regency eras in pre-industrialised England. In her sociohistorical context, which was riddled with the same patriarchal attitudes that guide the more subtle sexism in contemporary society, she managed to amalgamate her life-roles to form a career. Although she only published four novels, struggled with various illnesses, and remained virtually anonymous to the public during her lifetime, many researchers acknowledged Jane Austen's status as the first modern novelist. However, despite the enormous amount of scholarship surrounding the life of Jane Austen, her career development has not been systematically studied from a psychological framework. Therefore, the researcher purposefully selected the influential and enigmatic Jane Austen for this study and aimed to uncover and reconstruct her career development in-depth and in context using Donald E. Super's approach to career development.

The study aimed to explore and describe Jane Austen's career development across her life-span. The objective was to analytically generalise Jane Austen's unique life as a psychobiographical single case to Super's Life-Span, Life-Space theory. To achieve the mentioned aim and objective in this study, the researcher utilised Alexander's data reduction strategies to collect, organise, and analyse the abundance of biographical and autobiographical

data on Jane Austen. In order to reduce the substantial amount of historical data, the researcher asked the data questions and used Alexander's nine indicators of saliency to extract important information. The data was also systematically categorised and analysed according to a psychohistorical matrix, which allowed the researcher to extract data relevant to both Jane Austen's life-stages and the life-roles she played.

The findings of this study suggested that Jane Austen progressed through three of five sequential life-stages, as well as the respective substages as proposed by Super's framework. More specifically, during the growth stage, Jane Austen managed to achieve four career-related psychosocial tasks, namely the prevocational-curiosity, fantasy, interest, and capacity subtasks. During the exploration stage, Jane Austen reached the milestones of specifying, crystallising, and actualising her career choice. Following this, Jane Austen experienced substantial difficulties in the trial substage of the establishment stage due to the role-strains and role-spillage that occurred from her various life-roles. Nevertheless, Jane Austen managed to stabilise her life-roles by increasing her productivity and success in her role as worker. The findings of this study also suggested Jane Austen's career commitment gradually increased during her life-span, before her general decline and death at the age of 41. Besides contributing to the research literature about Jane Austen's life and work, this study provided a single case towards the analytic generalisation to Super's Life-Space, Life-Span theory. Therefore, the study's value is found in the expansion of the psychobiographical pool, as well as the in-depth, longitudinal analysis of a female author's career development. Based on the limitations of this study, recommendations are also made for future research.

Keywords: Psychobiography, Jane Austen, career development, careerography, Donald Super, life-space, life-span, life-roles, life-stages, career commitment, Georgian era, Regency era, Alexander

Chapter 1

Introduction and Problem Statement

1.1. Chapter Preview

This introductory chapter presents a general orientation to the study. The problem statement is also presented, and the research aim is stated. The researcher's personal motivation for conducting the study is provided, and the chapter concludes with an overview of the study's chapter divisions.

1.2. General Orientation to the Study

This qualitative psychobiography involved a single case study on Jane Austen's (1775-1817) career development. In light of recent developments in the field of psychobiographical research (Park-Taylor, Reynolds, Jackson, & Ponterotto, 2019; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2019), a career-focused psychobiography was conducted to uncover and reconstruct Jane Austen's life-span with particular focus on how her various life-roles intersected with her life-long career development. Super's (1980, 1990) influential Life-Space, Life-Span perspective is used to systematically explore and describe Jane Austen in her sociohistorical context.

Achieving this goal comprised a single case psychobiography as the research design. Thus, publicly available archival materials on Austen's personal and family life were collected and utilised for this study. Both primary and secondary historical documents were important for this psychobiographical inquiry (Schultz, 2005a, 2005c). On the one hand, primary sources (Ponterotto, 2017a, 2017c; Strydom & Delport, 2005), such as publically available autobiographical texts, letters, poems, short stories, and novels written by Austen, were

collected and thoroughly explored throughout the study. On the other hand, secondary sources, which refer to written and oral accounts (Ponterotto, 2017a; Woolums, 2011) about Austen or her career by others such as articles, memoirs, biographies, academic research, and other archival data (e.g., Austen-Leigh, 1882; Byrne, 2014; Le Faye, 2004, 2006, 2011; Nokes, 1997) were also collected. These materials allowed for an in-depth substantial, and holistic study into Austen's life and career development in her sociohistorical context. Several databases, including EBSCOHost, Google Scholar, NexusSearch, and the National Research Foundation databases, as well as the University of the Free State's library catalogue, were also consulted to gather sources of evidence for this psychobiography.

The most important historical data were collected, extracted, categorised, and examined by using Alexander's (1988, 1990) indicators of salience (see chapters 5.2.4. and 6.5.1.). These included primacy, negation, frequency, emphasis, omission, uniqueness, distortion or error, incompletion, and isolation indicators (Alexander, 1990). Furthermore, a psychohistorical conceptualisation of Austen's career development across her life-span assisted the researcher to categorise her life-data according to Super's (1990, 1992, 1996) approach. This ensured the systematic organisation and integration of salient historical data on Austen's life.

1.3. Problem Statement

As a subfield of psychohistory, psychobiography combines psychology and biography (Elms, 1994). More specifically, single case psychobiography entails the in-depth study of influential, enigmatic or historically significant individuals across their life-spans by utilising historiographic and psychological research methods (Kőváry, 2011; Ponterotto et al., 2015). If done against the background of the subject's sociohistorical context, a psychobiography provides an intensive and nuanced exploration of the subject's psychological development

through the lens of a specified psychological theory (Schultz & Lawrence, 2017). Psychobiographies are typically idiographically-natured and contextualise the subject holistically against their sociohistorical background (Cara, 2007; Elms, 1994; Ponterotto, 2015; Runyan, 1984, 1988a, 1988b; Willig & Stainton-Rogers, 2017). This presents a morphogenic quality to psychobiography because understanding about a subject emerges as the study is conducted (Fouché et al., 2014; Kőváry, 2018; Ponterotto, 2005).

Psychobiography has seen enormous and intensive growth since the days of Freud (1910) and Erikson's (1960, 1962, 1969) psychodynamic case studies of individual lives (Köváry, 2019). However, various and persistent calls have been made to select psychobiographical subjects with more attention to representation and ethics (Ponterotto, 2014, 2015; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2019). In relation to subject representation, Fouché and Van Niekerk (2010) have noted that between 1995 and 2010, most postgraduate South African psychobiographers chose male subjects, reflecting patriarchal values in the field (Rust, 2019). Internationally, Ponterotto (2015) found that out of 65 doctoral dissertations, only 32% of the chosen psychobiographical subjects were women. As subjects are chosen based on their historical importance, it seems evident that many psychobiographers do not deem female lives historically significant enough for psychobiographical explorations (Ponterotto, 2015; Yeung-Breuhl, 2000). Therefore, despite efforts to balance the gender representation of psychobiographical subjects, more psychobiographies needed to be done on historically significant and influential women (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Ponterotto, 2015).

Furthermore, several recommendations have been made regarding choosing psychobiographical subjects ethically (Burnell et al., 2019; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2019). One

such ethical concern revolves around the impact and dissemination of psychobiographical findings on the research subject's surviving relatives, peers, or stakeholders if the subject is deceased, as well as confidentiality, dignity, and anonymity of subjects who may still be alive (see Chapter 5 for a detailed discussion). Therefore, it has been suggested that psychobiographies remain sensitive to the risks inherent in choosing psychobiographical subjects, specifically (Ponterotto, 2017a, 2017c, 2017d, 2019a). In addition, the reputational harm that may arise from conducting psychobiographies on living or recently deceased persons could be substantial (Ponterotto, 2015, 2017a). Several psychobiographers have emphasised that to increase the ethical soundness of psychobiography, researchers should be extra ethically vigilant when conducting psychobiographies on living or recently deceased individuals (Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2019). However, the ethical risks associated with psychobiographic subjects are substantially minimised if the subject has been deceased for more than 90 years (Ponterotto, 2017a; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2019). The research subject of this study is introduced next.

1.4. The Research Subject

Purposive sampling is typically used in qualitative case studies due to its practicality and usefulness (Laher & Botha, 2012). In single-case, purposive sampling, the researcher's choice of a subject is dependent on the significance and interest value related to the subject (Fouché et al., 2017). Therefore, researchers are guided by their specific expertise, knowledge, and interest to choose their research subjects (Ferrer & Ponterotto, 2020; Mayer & Van Niekerk, 2020). In single-case psychobiographical studies, specifically, only one person is selected as a research focus (Mayer et al., 2020). Psychobiographers select their subjects carefully, considering the ethical soundness of conducting an in-depth exploration and description of their specific psychobiographical subject (Du Plessis, 2017).

In this study, Jane Austen (1775–1817) was selected as the subject via non-probability, purposive sampling due to her lasting literary influence and legacy (Cappiello, 2019; Steeves, 2020; Tanner, 2007). Jane Austen's legacy as the first modern novelist remained influential during the 20th century and has been rediscovered by younger generations in recent years (Steeves, 2020). Besides entire cult-like movements being inspired by the author's work and personal life (Johnson, 2012), Austen inspired the general conventions of modern novels (Steeves, 2020; Sutherland, 2011; Todd, 2005); several film and television series adaptations have also been based on Jane Austen's novels (see Appendix E). This is largely attributable to Austen's realistic representations of Georgian and Regency Period England's middle and upper classes, which enhanced the universal and time-tested themes of love, marriage, socio-economic mobility, morality, gender, and education (Weng, 2019).

However, the personal life of Jane Austen has been extremely elusive to researchers, despite her works being some of the most studied novels of the century (Mazzeno, 2011). Jane, the youngest of eight children, was born in Hampshire to Cassandra and Reverend George Austen (Le Faye, 2004, 2011, 2014). As a child, Jane was fond of writing short stories, and by 20, she had written her first novel (Le Faye, 2006). She continued writing throughout her life, despite patriarchal gender expectations in her historical milieu and persistent bouts of untreatable illnesses (Sedgwick, 1991; Upfal, 2005). Austen also received a marriage proposal at the age of 27, but after an initial acceptance, she rejected the proposal, favouring living independently (Le Faye, 2004, 2011). This is ironic, as the plots in her most famous novels, *Sense and Sensibility* (1811) and *Pride and Prejudice* (1813), are thematically centred around love and marriage. It has been suggested that societal criticisms in Jane Austen's novels stemmed from her reluctance to engage with her societal expectations (Todd, 2005). Therefore, Jane is considered a rebel and early proponent of the feminist tradition by many researchers (Ascarelli, 2004; Brown, 1973; Karyatin, 2020).

Throughout the latter half of her life, Austen published only four novels, namely *Sense and Sensibility* (1811); *Pride and Prejudice* (1813); *Mansfield Park* (1814); and *Emma* (1815). After Jane Austen's death at the age of 41 (Austen-Leigh, 1882; Cope, 1964), her last works – *Persuasion* (1817) and *Northanger Abbey* (1817) – were published posthumously. However, her prolific, early feminist novels have sparked a cult-status international readership, which continues in the 21st century (Lynch, 2005). However, little is known about Jane Austen's career development from a psychological point of view. Despite numerous biographies and an enormous amount of literary scholarship around her context, Austen's unfolding career has been an unexplored research focus.

Therefore, a single case study design was deemed appropriate for this psychobiography. Jane Austen's career development was uncovered and reconstructed via a psychohistorical sketch of her life, from within the constructivist-interpretivist paradigm, using Super's (1980, 1990, 1996) theoretical models with specific focus placed on her life-roles across her life-span. Although Super's (1957, 1980, 1990) theory was primarily developed and used for post-industrialised 20th-century careers, no attempts at theoretical validation have been made on individuals from earlier centuries. This psychobiographical research thus focuses on the longitudinal examination and reconstruction of Jane Austen's life-stages and career development, contextualised within her socio-political background, to explore if a case from an earlier century can be generalised to Super's Life-span, Life-space model.

1.5. Research Aim

This qualitative psychobiography aims to uncover and reconstruct the career development of Jane Austen (1775 – 1817), one of the most influential writers of the last few centuries. By applying Super's (1980, 1990) Life-Span, Life-Space theory to Austen's life history within her Georgian and Regency socio-cultural context, the researcher attempted to explore and describe

her career development through the lenses of her life-roles and life-stages (see Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion of the theory). Database searches (EBSCOHost, 11 June 2018; NexusSearch, 11 June 2018) revealed that no existing psychobiographical studies were conducted on Jane Austen's life-span career development, which led to the formulation of the research aim and objective.

The primary aim of the study was to explore and describe the career development of Jane Austen. By applying Super's (1980, 1990) Life-Span, Life-Space theory, and relevant career-related research to the life of Jane Austen (1775-1817), the study reinterprets and reconstructs Austen's biographical data into a coherent, yet illuminating, psychological account of her career development. The research objective, however, was to analytically generalise life-history data about Jane Austen to the theory. According to Yin (2018), analytical generalisation is the opposite of statistical generalisation. Therefore, rather than generalising the findings of this study to a broader population, a study's findings are generalised to its theoretical approach. The following section introduces the study's theoretical approach.

1.6. Theoretical Approach: Super's (1980, 1990) Life-Space, Life-Span Theory

This study aimed to uncover and reconstruct Jane Austen's life-stages and -roles emphasising her career development across her life-span. These life-stages and -roles were investigated with Austen's socio-political and historical contexts framing and contextualising the study. Therefore, Jane Austen's development is contextualised while a longitudinal, in-depth exploration and description of her career development across time. Super's Life-Space, Life-Stage theory is used, specifically for its emphasis on contextual variables across a stage-based perspective of career development (Savickas, 1997).

Donald Super (1980) had previously summarised the interplay of roles and stages in a life-rainbow, which was utilised during the progression of the study. According to this life-

stage, life-space theory, two elements are necessary to form a career, namely life-roles and life-stages. On the one hand, Super (1957) proposed that an individual takes various roles across her life-span. These roles, which predominate in certain life-stages, include worker, homemaker, pupil, leisurite, citizen, child, and parent (Super, 1957, 1980, 1992). When these roles are amalgamated, they form a person's career (Super, 1973, 1980). Therefore, Super (1990) acknowledged that careers were not limited to formal occupations for compensation but included the cross-boundary influences of life-roles, the conflicts between these roles, and various other career determinants, such as personal and situational determinants which formed the self. On the other hand, Super (1980, 1990, 1996) emphasised that individuals articulate their prominent life-roles in sequential order across the life-span. These give rise to what Super (1940, 1957) initially called life-stages. According to Super (1953, 1957, 1980, 1984), these stages are (a) *growth* from birth to about 14 years, (b) *exploration* from approximately 15 to 24 years, (c) *establishment* from about 25 to 44 years, (d) *maintenance* from roughly 45 to 64 years, and (e) *decline* from 65 years onwards (Super et al., 1957). However, Super (1984) later revised his initial stage-theory to acknowledge that sub-stages and subtasks are found in each life-stage. These substages and subtasks include (a) *Prevocational-curiosity*, (b) *Fantasy*, (c) *Interest* and (d) *Capacity* in the Growth Stage; (a) *Crystallisation*, (b) *Specification* and (c) *Actualisation and Implementation substages* in the Exploration Stage; (a) *Trial* and (b) *Stabilisation* in the Establishment Stage; (a) *Self-fulfilment* or *frustration* in the Management Stage; and (a) *Deceleration* and (b) *Retirement* in the Decline Stage (Salomone, 1996; Super, 1980, 1984, 1992; Weiten, Dunn & Yost, 2018). As Jane Austen only lived until before her 42nd birthday (Le Faye, 2011), the proposed study only focused on her first three life-stages stages, and their respective sub-stages. This is examined more broadly and critically in Chapter 2.

1.7. Researcher's Reflective Passage and Motivation for the Study

The researcher was first exposed to psychobiography as a legitimised academic pursuit in his undergraduate years. After that, the researcher conducted a psychobiography on the psychosocial development of Adam Small as part of his honour's degree requirements (see Botha, 2017; Fouché, Naidoo, & Botha, 2019), before conducting another, in-depth exploration and description of another author for his master's degree. Furthermore, the researcher deemed it necessary to specifically focus on an influential female author that has been deceased with no known progeny due to the ethical concerns raised in Section 1.3. Therefore, Jane Austen was selected after a brief pilot phase in which the researcher evaluated whether there was (a) enough information about her life-span, and (b) she would make for a good case study in career development.

The researcher's first encounter with Austen was during his matric year when the English class considered discussing Jane Austen's (1813) *Pride and Prejudice* as a prescribed novel for the year. Despite several others voting against studying the novel, the researcher attempted to read *Pride and Prejudice* on his own. However, as an idealist, the researcher was initially bothered by Jane Austen's realistic treatment of her characters and the social contexts that they were situated in. The researcher, nevertheless, quickly recovered from the failed attempt after discovering that several of his favourite films at the time were adapted from Jane Austen novels.

As an aspiring novelist and writer, the researcher also had significant interests in the life-span development of career novelists and poets, particularly about unintentionally-included autobiographic elements in their works. Prior to undertaking the study, therefore, the researcher believed that he would be able to personally understand some of Jane Austen's intentions more clearly if he understood her life-span career development. The researcher was especially interested in Jane's development and use of unconventional techniques that defined her works.

Therefore, Jane Austen was selected as a research subject for this study. The following section provides a a chapter outline of the study.

1.8. Chapter Outline of the Study

This study on the career of Jane Austen was introduced in this chapter. In the following chapter, a critical overview of career literature is presented, focusing on Super's Life-Span, Life-Space theory. In Chapter 3, a contextualised overview of the biographical details of Jane Austen is presented, followed by the history and development of psychobiography as an academic field in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 focuses on preliminary methodological and ethical issues related to psychobiography, and Chapter 6 presents an overview of the methodology utilised in this study. The research findings with regards to Jane Austen's career development is discussed in Chapter 7. The study is finally concluded in Chapter 8, in which the major limitations of the study are explored, and recommendations for future research are made. The following chapter introduces and discusses Donald Super's Life-Space, Life-Span Theory.

Chapter 2

Careers: The Life-Span, Life-Space Approach

2.1. Introduction

An individual's career development is inseparable from his or her holistic development (Adler, 1939, 1992), as they are faced with five primary life-tasks, namely sociality, occupation, love, spirituality, and self-regulation/self-direction that constitute being an adult (Myers, Sweeney, & Witmer, 2000; Sweeney, 2019). According to Stoltz and Apodaca (2017), Adler recognised that the work-task was socially embedded and reciprocally influenced an individual's love and familial tasks. Since then, the work-task has not only been seen as central to an individual's adult life but integral to his or her holistic development (Zunker, 2008).

Over the last three centuries, major changes regarding how work and careers are conceptualised have occurred (Chudzikowski & Mayrhofer, 2011). Although the meaning of careers changed, theorists have also grappled with delimiting and operationalising careers due to several factors (Robertson, 2016). This chapter includes an overview of career development by defining and differentiating careers from related constructs. This is followed by brief overviews of a few developmental theories of career development, focusing specifically on Super's (1957, 1980, 1990) career developmental theory. The concluding section of the chapter remarks on the present status of Super's theory.

2.2. Differentiating Careers and Related Terms

A career is a difficult construct to define due to its substantial overlap with interrelated constructs and lay meanings of the word (Savickas, 2013a, 2013b; Savickas & Baker, 2009).

The terms occupations, work, labour, jobs, employment, vocations, callings, occupational careers, and careers have been used interchangeably since the earliest career literature was published (e.g., Parsons, 1909). Some authors believed that despite the preponderance of oftentimes conflicting definitions that were found in career literature, the interplay between work, time, and life has always been central in career definitions (Patton & McMahon, 2014). Prior to defining and explicating career development processes, some differentiation between the seemingly synonymous and interrelated terminologies is warranted.

2.2.1. Occupations

Although occupations refer to tasks and activities in which individuals or groups are actively engaged (Laliberte-Rudman, 2002), the word occupation is often confused with the construct of careers (McColl, 2003a). Occupations can be distinguished by the limited temporal boundaries that surround these tasks or activities, while careers refer to constellations of various occupations over an individual's lifetime (McColl, 2003b). Occupations include remunerated work, and it involves any time-consuming activity or task that an individual does (McColl, 2003a, 2003). However, the term occupation has frequently been debated and redefined, and little theoretical agreement has been found for this term (McColl, 2003b).

2.2.2. Work and labour

The almost synonymous terms of work and labour are also often confused with careers. According to Patterson (1997), the term work universally refers to the "expenditure of effort" (p. 1). Similarly, labour has been defined as any "task that requires the exertion of the body, the mind or both" (Fagbenie, Ogunde, & Owolabi, 2011, p. 251). However, minor differences

in how the terms ‘work’ and ‘labour’ are measured or defined can be found when comparing definitions.

In the mathematical, engineering, and physical sciences, for example, the definition of work includes conditions for the operationalisation of energy on both macro- and microscopic levels, typically referring to kinematic relations in mechanics or thermodynamics, which are measured in Joules (Arons, 1999). However, in economic terms, work was traditionally seen as a commodity-producing activity separated from non-work and domestic activity prior to the 1960s (Himmelweit, 1995). Similarly, the term labour was also frequently used in economic conceptualisations as a complex commodity that was associated with physical work done (Gilbert & Southall, 2000). Modern feminist economic reconceptualisations of work and labour, however, include the dematerialisation of work and labour to include the relational and personal pursuits that produce goods and services, despite the possibility of non-remuneration (Himmelweit, 1995).

In psychological terms, work refers to purposeful and meaningful activities that people undertake to fulfil their various physical and psychosocial needs (Bergh, 2014). Even though work provides for consumption needs, it also provides an opportunity for the use, expansion, and development of various physical, social, cognitive, and emotional skills (Bergh, 2014). If one were to focus only on the production activities associated with work or labour, it would be referred to as a job (Ameriks et al., 2020).

2.2.3. Jobs and Employment

The terms job and employment have many lay definitions that often conflate with the term career. For this reason, these two terms are often confused with the term careers even though there is clear differentiation between the terms. According to Allaart, Kerkhofs, and de Voogd-

Hamelink (2000), jobs refer to “a specific kind of work done by one person, regardless the number of hours he or she works” (p. 3). Furthermore, jobs lasting less than 20 hours a week are referred to as temporary, secondary or part-time jobs (D’Addio & Rosholm, 2005; Tijdens, 1999); whereas jobs of durations longer than 30 hours per week are commonly termed full-time or permanent jobs (D’Addio & Rosholm, 2005; Farkas et al., 1997). Nevertheless, the job specificity and job duration appear to be important factors in defining jobs (Eggenberger et al., 2018). The term employment seems to be reserved for any act of labour market participation from which an individual receives or generates an income or remuneration (Li, 2001). It appears that the terms job and employment are often used synonymously, even though the term employment seems to be preferred when referring to labour market participation for remuneration (Kambayashi & Kato, 2017; Li, 2001).

2.2.4. Callings and Vocations

Callings and vocations are also regarded as synonyms for careers due to the vague and often confounded connotations made while defining these terms (Dik & Duffy, 2009; Dik et al., 2019). On the one hand, a calling commonly consists of three overlapping dimensions: (a) a transcendent summons, (b) life-orientation towards purpose and meaning through work activities, and (c) prosocial or other-orientated values and goals (Elangovan, Pinder, McLean, 2010). According to Dik and Duffy (2009), callings can be linked to service-orientated work that “originate beyond the self” (p. 1). Vocations, on the other hand, primarily only refer to the altruistic values and goals that are pursued for the meaning and purpose that is derived from such work (Dik & Duffy, 2009; Dik et al., 2019).

Dik and Duffy (2009) emphasised that the distinctions between the two terms are validated because of its differing loci of origins. Furthermore, callings are often cited when an external

source such as a deity, "a family legacy or a pressing societal need" is attributed as a motive for work done over the lifespan (Dik & Duffy, 2009, p. 1). Thus, the transcendent experience of a calling may arise from either secular or religious origins, albeit external origins (Elangovan, Pinder, & McLean, 2010; French & Domene, 2019). A vocation refers to the internal motivations for approaching one's work as meaningful, purposeful, and other-centred (Dik & Duffy, 2009).

Evidently, both callings and vocations refer to a subset of motivations for pursuing meaningful work. All callings are, therefore, vocations with external origins, but not all vocations are callings. However, all careers are callings or vocations, but all callings and vocations have a larger picture career narrative surrounding it.

2.2.5. Professions

Professions have often been confused with occupations and careers (Harris, 2020). Where careers are the longitudinal development of an individual's occupations and positions over the lifespan, professions refer to remunerated occupations that involve lengthy training along with recognised formal qualifications (Seminelli, 2016). Even though the specificity of the occupation subscribed to by the individual is analogous to occupational careers and career trajectories, professions are differentiated from comparable terminologies by the systematic organisation of a group of persons who embody and value similar systematic theory, authority, community sanctions, an ethical code and a professional culture (Harris, 2020; Seminelli, 2016).

2.2.6. Occupational Careers

Occupational careers are also often confused with careers. However, Super (1957, 1980) differentiated careers from occupational careers, which he defined as "a sequence or the combination of occupational positions held during the course of a lifetime" (p. 286). This is differentiated from careers, which are defined next.

2.3. Defining Careers

According to Super (1980), careers are operationally "defined as the combination and sequence of roles played by a person during the course of a lifetime" (p. 282) and later as "a sequence of positions held during the course of a lifetime" (p. 286). The term *carriére* derives from the Latin words *carrus* translates to chariot, and *via cararia* translates to road (Super, 1980). The root words, therefore, indicate that careers should be viewed as a vehicle that moves across a plane.

An individual career includes the sequence of a person's main occupations across the lifespan throughout an individual's pre-occupational, occupational and post-occupational life and extends to the person's complementary vocational, familial, and civil roles (Super, 1976). For this reason, it is important to note that for Super (1980), careers encompass more than the mere sequencing of jobs and occupations held during a lifetime and may include various influences and non-occupational experiences as a result. Collin and Patton (2009) added that careers are multi-dimensional, multi-layered, and contextually bound. Thus, various contextual determinants influence career development and various levels of analysis could exist for career development. For this study, the following definition, adapted from Super (1957, 1975, 1980), is used as the operational definition, namely a career is the sequence of positions held and

complementary vocational, familial, and civil roles played by an individual during the individual's pre-occupational, occupational, and post-occupational life.

Despite careers being difficult to define, delimit or predict, various researchers and theorists have attempted to make sense of the developmental processes associated with career development over the past few centuries (Cardoso, Savickas, & Gonçalves; Chudzikowski & Mayrhofer, 2011; Levinson, 1986; Levinson et al., 1978; Super, 1957). Some researchers highlighted that the epistemological variation in how careers were studied over the last two centuries has led to an explosion of cross-disciplinary career theories, which all contribute to the current understanding of career development (Chudzikowski & Mayrhofer, 2011). The following sections aim to briefly explicate some influential theories of career development from developmental psychology and occupational choice that have been proposed in the 20th and the 21st centuries.

2.4. Overview of Related Career Developmental Theories

Despite some criticisms against developmental accounts of career development, Nagy, Froidevaux and Hirschi (2019) attribute the success of traditional theories of career development to the pragmatic value they circumscribe, as well as their lasting influence. For this reason, Levinson (1976), Cron (1984), and Havighurst's (1981) work will briefly be explained. However, some theories, especially psychodynamic and relational theories, appear to be more implicit in their developmental accounts of career development. Therefore, contributions to career development from Bordin (1990), Erikson (1958, 1960, 1969, 1974), Adler (1992), and Roe (1957) are also briefly explored. Finally, the major critiques of all of the theories discussed will be provided.

2.4.1. Levinson (1976, 1978): Seasons of Life and Transitions

Levinson (1976, 1978) proposed that men's career development evolved sequentially through various eras or seasons of life as they chronologically progressed through life. According to Nagy, Froidevaux and Hirschi (2019), these eras include pre-adulthood (approximately 0-22 years), early adulthood (approximately 17- 45 years), middle adulthood (approximately 40-65 years), and late adulthood (approximately 60 years upwards). The overlap of these eras highlights the unstable turning points in men's career development as they aged and as their social milieus changed (Levinson et al., 1978; Mann, 1987). These transitional periods are defined as transitions and typically require more adaptation and psychological adjustment than other eras (Mann, 1987).

According to Nagy, Froidevaux and Hirschi (2019), individuals were faced with several life-tasks at different ages. During the first important transition, the early adult transition, young adults were faced with defining a dream, establishing mentorship relationships and occupation, as well as negotiating their life structures by creating a stable marriage, family or other love relationships (Nagy, Froidevaux, & Hirschi, 2019). Men also faced an important transition during their mid-lives, between the ages of approximately 40 and 45. They are faced with terminating their pre-adulthood life-structures and realising their youthful dreams by settling down (Nagy, Froidevaux, & Hirschi, 2019). Levinson (1976, 1978) created the term "midlife crisis" to describe this second important transitional period. During this second main transitional period, the mid-life transition, individuals typically negotiated this difficult period by either advancing, failing, breaking away from, or accepting their previous life-structures (Levinson et al., 1978; Nagy et al., 2019). Levinson (1978) hypothesised that these changes were all universal, age-dependent, and reflected the influences of broader social forces[2].

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[2] It is important to note that Levinson's stage-crisis theorisation was based on an initial sample of only 40 men who he followed over a two-year period, yet he only found theoretical support for the career development of

2.4.2. Cron (1984): Career Tasks

Cron's (1984) stage model of career development emphasised the value of developmental tasks, challenges, needs, and concerns, which decentred discourses around the chronology of career development and introduced the importance of resolving certain career-related tasks in each stage. Cron (1984) stated that to traverse through the consecutive career stages, the psychosocial tasks from previous stages should be resolved. Cron (1984) drew from Levinson, Erikson, Schein, and Super's frameworks, which allowed him to overcome some of the inconsistencies between the theories. Therefore, Cron's (1984) model reflect Super's (1957) developmental model of career development (Nagy, Froidevaux, & Hirschi, 2019). These consecutive changes mimicked Eriksonian developmental processes and influenced the development of later, more integrated and contextualised, developmental hypotheses of career development over the lifespan (Cron, 1984; Nagy, Froidevaux, & Hirschi, 2019).

2.4.3. Havighurst (1981): One-Career Work Cycle

Robert Havighurst (1956, 1963, 1964, 1981) conceptualised career development as a lifelong process divided into six stages of the traditional one-career work cycle. These cumulative stages are (a) identifying with a worker during middle childhood (approximately 5-10 years); (b) acquiring basic industry habits in early adolescence (approximately 10-15 years); (c) acquiring an identity as a worker (between 15 to 25 years); (d) becoming a productive person in young adulthood (between 25 and 40 years); (e) maintaining a productive society in middle

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females at a later stage (Ornstein, Cron & Slocum, 1989). Levinson et al. (1978) conducted multiple in-depth interviews with his initial male sample and hypothesised that they would share similar life-structure patterns that would influence their careers. Upon initially discovering that there were indeed several similarities and only minor unaccountable deviances between these men's career development patterns, criticisms were launched at Levinson's methodology and sampling practices (Aktu & Ilhan, 2017). This led Levinson (1986, 1996) to later shift his focus on men's career development by introducing seasons of womens' lives in his seminal work: *Seasons of a Woman's Life* (1990, 1996). Nevertheless, similar results were found for men and women in their career trajectories (Levinson, 1990, 1996).

adulthood and late adulthood (between 40 and 70 years); and (f) contemplating a responsible and productive life (from 70 years) (Dunn & Craig, 2019). Havighurst (1956) also promoted the idea of appropriate social roles that should be fulfilled by individuals during specific ages. These social roles were explained as behavioural patterns which individuals were expected to follow if they made up part of a group (Havighurst, 1956). Therefore, Havighurst's (1964) theory included the possibility and acknowledgement of diversity and possible cultural differences.

The second, arguably the most important feature of Havighurst's (1956, 1963, 1981) theory was his assertion that each of these stages was characterised by specific and context-dependent life-tasks that arose from societal expectations, individual values, and maturation (Dunn & Craig, 2019; Havighurst, 1956, 1981; Walsh, 2014; Walsh & Osipow, 1983, 2014). In adolescence, for example, individuals needed to accept their pubescent and post-pubescent bodies, select and prepare for occupations and appropriate correct gender roles (Havighurst, 1956) while individuals over the age of 60 needed to adapt to declining physical strength, activity, social circle and income due to retirement (Zadworna-Cieślak, 2019). Furthermore, Havighurst (1956) distinguished various needs from broad psychosocial needs, as described by Erikson (1950, 1959, 1969, 1974), emphasising that his developmental tasks were more specific and measurable than those of Erikson. However, Blackburn and Havighurst (1979) also found that the age-limits and normative expectations that often existed in other career theories were restrictive and did not account for much of the variation found in real persons' careers (see Mann, 1987). Even though Havighurst significantly contributed to the literature on the traditional occupational cycle, which is "the sequences or periods in a worker's life" (p. 337), his work has been greatly influential in modern protean or pre-20th century occupational and vocational theories.

2.4.4. Bordin (1990): Psychosexual Personality and Work-Play Fusion

According to Edward Bordin (1990), whose work had initially been based on Freudian psychosexual hermeneutics (Bordin, 1963; Bordin, Nachmann, & Segal, 1963), personality and work merge through the associations between childhood play and personality (Schreuder & Coetzee, 2016). As individuals develop, their urges to spontaneously play for intrinsic pleasure, joy and wholeness are replaced by complex and directed effort. Bordin (1990) further stated that the degree of fusion between adult play and work are driven by compulsions. When parental or caretaker expectations and pressures are introjected with adequate love, children internalise duty, and conscience (Patton & McMahon, 2014). Theoretically, such individuals are able to develop compulsions that fuse play and work. In other words, the intrinsic pleasure that was once derived from childhood play is fused with effort, which may lead to intrinsic pleasure derived from work. However, extreme deviations in parental or caretaker expectations may lead to an excessive effort that may become adaptive compulsions and defences. Bordin (1990) further provided a sequential model for developing adult work personalities based on Freud's psychosexual stages.

From this perspective, the accumulation and storage of libido energies during the oral stage predetermines individual propensities or aversions towards nurturing, fostering, and sensory activities in the workplace, with the anal stage solidifying aggression behaviours in the workplace (Schreuder & Coetzee, 2016). These anal characteristics are often seen in individual career choices and work activities regarding sublimation of expulsive or retentive drives that are redirected through acquiring and hoarding (Schreuder & Coetzee, 2016). Production, for example, was hypothesised to be largely determined by genital stage fixations (Schreuder & Coetzee, 2016). Later, Bordin (1990) reformulated these assertions in ego-developmental terms: instead of being driven only by unconscious dreams, desires, wishes, and fantasies, individuals incorporate nurturance, curiosity, expressiveness, power, precision, and a concern

for right and wrong into their future work lives (Schreuder & Coetzee, 2016). This depathologised the development of a career personality significantly and opened up new avenues for explaining how individuals work.[3]

2.4.5. Erikson (1960, 1969): Psychosocial Theory

Although Erik Erikson had been influenced by Freud's (1961) representation of the topographical self, Erikson (1969) progressively viewed ego-development as the essential characteristic of personality and the role that society, culture, and institutions play in normal development across the lifespan (Bocciardi et al., 2017; Caputo, Fregonese, & Langher, 2018, 2020). Erikson (1959, 1974), therefore, argued that individuals were not innately slaves to their drives but shaped by their social environments throughout their lifespans too.

According to Eriksonian ego-developmental and psychosocial explanations, individual ego-development was guided by the maturation and epigenetic principles (Erikson, 1968, 1982; Rust, 2019). The implication was that individuals' careers unfold as their egos were shaped by their psychosocial milieus (Erikson, 1980). Erikson (1968, 1969, 1980) asserted that individuals faced predictable patterns of psychosocial crises due to the interplay between their age-normative environments and their biological and ego-development. Erikson (1968) also argued that individuals would primarily be faced with resolving their identity vs. role confusion crises during their adolescence and the intimacy vs. isolation crises during their young adult

[3] Bordin and Kopplin's (1973) added other important contributions to the psychodynamic conceptualisation of career development. For instance, the assumption that synthetic difficulties with career development are often guided by unconscious dynamics, which lead to various career-related behaviours, is still believed today (Caputo et al., 2018). Further, the idea that overt pathologies, such as career indecision and other career choice anxieties, could potentially be understood in considering individual and familial psychosexual dynamics, has been important too (Watkins & Savickas, 2014). In addition, gratification and motivational conflicts could lead to identity problems which clearly influence the stability and maintenance of vocational or career identities across the lifespan (Caputo et al., 2018; Green, 2020). Therefore, Bordin and Kopplin's (1973) contributions to career development theory remain invaluable.

years. This would be followed by the generativity vs. self-stagnation crisis that predominates in the middle-aged (Erikson, 1969; Mann, 1987). Therefore, Erikson's theoretical account emphasised career development in the middle and late adult years when individuals faced generativity and self-stagnation crises. If individuals became overindulged or neglected during any of their previous psychosocial stages, the individuals would have significantly more difficulty with interacting, negotiating and resolving their subsequent crises (Mann, 1987; Rust, 2019).

2.4.6. Adler (1939, 1992): Individual Psychology

According to Adler (1939, 1959, 1992), early familial experiences guided the roles that individuals would later assume in the workplace. Individuals' lifestyles, birth orders, and early recollections all influenced their later career development (Kern & Peluso, 1999; Watkins, 1984). For example, collaborative relationships between workers were typically seen as a product of early childhood experiences with sharing with siblings. In addition, individuals could assume specific lifestyles due to their birth orders, which could later reflect in their work-lives. Subsequently, childhood experiences in the household could be based on the distribution of power in the household structures. For example, due to a new birth in the household, the eldest child would experience a loss of power, which Adler (1937) termed dethronement. This would lead some individuals to become more industrious, more caring, and more approval-seeking than their younger siblings (Adler, 1937). Adlerian scholars have hypothesised that individuals would not only seek out work-roles that would optimally fit their lifestyles, but they would create such work-environments if it were not readily available. However, Adler's theoretical conceptualisation of vocational development was important as it seemed to extensively predict and influence later developments in career and wellness theory (Stolz & Apodaca, 2017; Winter, 2019).

2.4.7. Roe (1957): Need Theory

In Roe (1957) and Roe and Siegelman's (1964) need theory, career choice is seen as a function of child-parental affect, needs, and personality. Individuals have universal ordinally arranged needs such as nurturance, sustenance, safety, shelter, belonging, self-esteem, and self-actualisation, as proposed by Maslow (1954). These needs arose from early experiences within the family unit, with child-parent interaction patterns (i.e., overprotection, overdemand, rejection, neglect, or love) influencing later career choices (Roe, 1957). According to Roe (1957), children develop needs either towards or away from people due to these patterns, which influence their adult satisfaction and attraction patterns towards occupations and careers that either involve objects (non-person-directed careers) or people (person-directed careers). However, unlike other psychodynamic and relational theories of career choice and development, researchers of Roe's needs theory have also struggled to gain valid evidence and generalisability for the theory's assertions (Caputo et al., 2018, 2020).

2.4.8. Critiques against the Related Career Developmental Theories

Most of the developmental theories of career development mentioned above were based on the career development of employees in traditional, white-collar, male-dominated 20th-century organisations and professions (Nagy, Froidevaux, & Hirschi, 2019). Although various developmental tasks across the lifespan are explicated in these theorists' works, these developmental tasks aimed to be so inclusive or universal at times that individual socio-political and historical contexts and nuances were neglected (Nagy, Froidevaux, & Hirschi, 2019; Stead & Watson, 2017). Furthermore, these theories were notably influenced by biopsychosocial approaches and essentialist views on human nature, which often did not value authentic choice, personal responsibility, and freedom enough.

Even though many other rich psychodynamic accounts of career development exist (e.g., Blanco, 1975; Malach-Pines & Yafe-Yanai, 1999; Nevo & Wiseman, 2002) and these approaches to understanding career development are often useful in both clinical practice and research (Uher, 2015), psychodynamic theories were often biased in that critical period, and eventism fallacies unintentionally dominated the career developmental discourse at the expense of rich understanding (see Chapter 5: Preliminary Methodological and Ethical Considerations). A further concern that has frequently been raised in reaction to psychodynamic interpretations of career development concerns the pathologisation of individual development at the expense of sociological, anthropological, cultural, and systemic interpretations or understandings (Caputo et al., 2018; Harrist & Richardson, 2014; Kozuki & Kennedy, 2004). Some of these approaches also ignored the vast literature concerning career development from various perspectives and tended to undermine the rich contributions from transdisciplinary endeavours (Stenner, 2018). Therefore, criticisms against psychodynamic career theories reflect broader criticism against the individualisation of experience in advancing the interests of those in power. Psychodynamic frameworks were also used extensively in the past to dominate and justify the exploitation and subjugation of women and minorities in the workplace leading to "blaming the victim" (Deal, 2007; Fletcher et al., 2000).

The most often-cited criticisms against psychodynamic theories included the critique that these theories remain difficult to validate due to a lack of clarity, operationalisation, and replicability (Steinert et al., 2017). Not only were some of these seminal theories difficult to validate or reasonably and ethically replicate in the past, but some authors noted the failure of these theories to present falsifiable hypotheses (Deal, 2007). However, theorists have attempted to formulate consecutive, stage-based, and longitudinal career development models (Dunn & Craig, 2019). Levinson's (Levinson, 1986; Levinson et al., 1978) life stage developmental

model and Super's (Super, 1957, 1990) life-span, life-space model, for example, are regarded as exemplary theories by various researchers (Nagy, Froidevaux, & Hirschi, 2019).

Havighurst (1956, 1963) also explicitly attempted to formulate contextualised, group-specific developmental processes for career development, despite his work being clearly guided by Judeo-Christian societal values. Donald Super (1957, 1973, 1980), however, attempted to allow contextual nuance and personal choice into the developmental arguments for career development in his theories. Savickas (1997) supported this and argued that Super's life-span developmental contributions were contextual, differential-self, and developmentally informed. The following section focuses explicitly on Super's career theory.

2.5. Life-Span, Life-Space Theory of Career Development

The following sections discuss Super's (1980) Life-Space, Life-Span theory of career development. Firstly, Donald Super's life is explored, followed by an explication of Super's theory across spatial dimensions. Also included is a focus across the temporal dimensions before concluding with an integration of these two perspectives.

2.5.1. Donald Edwin Super

Donald Edwin Super (1910-1994) was born in Honolulu, Hawaii, although he was raised by his parents, Margaret and Paul Stump, in Missouri (Savickas, 1994b). His Master of Arts-educated mother was a Latin and algebra teacher and editorial writer for various journals, while his father was a professor of classics and modern languages (Savickas, 1994b). Similarly, Donald E. Super became an academic by receiving a bachelor's degree in economic history, specialising in British Labour Movements (Savickas, 1994b). He was also awarded a Master of Arts degree at Oxford University based on the same work and later completed his Doctorate

in Educational Psychology at Teachers College, Columbia University, under Professor Harry Dexter Kitson (Savickas, 1995, 2016). While working on his dissertation, he completed research assistantships under Robert L. Thorndike (Savickas, 1994b).

During the final years of his doctoral studies, Donald Super became an assistant professor at the founding director of the Cleveland, Ohio Guidance services and went on to become the Student Personnel Bureau's director at Clark University in Massachusetts (Savickas, 1994b). Super also rose to the rank of major in the Army Air Corps (Savickas, 1994b), where he conducted extensive research in psychological services at the military hospital (Savickas, 1994). Here, he contributed significantly to the previous century's vocational guidance movements and became a psychologist who focused on career and life planning. Following this, Super became a full professor of psychology, narrowing his research interests to the theoretical development of vocational guidance after Ginzberg noted a defined lacuna in the field (Savickas, 1994b).

Super expanded the work of Ginzberg and Havighurst in several ways: he expanded Ginzberg's life and career stages from three to five stages and added substages corresponding with each life stage. Early in his career (1930-1940), Super was employed at the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) as an employment counsellor (Savickas, 1994b), where he worked on compiling data about various occupations and careers in Cleveland, Ohio (Savickas, 1994). Super wrote two seminal texts, *The Psychology of Careers* (1957) and *Dynamics of Vocational Adjustment* (1942).

In this book, Super (1942) suggested that careers were strategic processes instead of once-off choices, which was ground-breaking at the time (Savickas, 1994b). According to Savickas (1994), the naissance of Super's seminal theory was at a National Vocational Guidance Association (NVGA) meeting at Cleveland YMCA in 1934, where Super, who had been a job

placement specialist and counsellor at the time, thought that the meeting was so intellectually stimulating that he decided to join the NVGA for the rest of his life. Between the 1950s and the 1990s, he further contributed to career theory with his phenomenological perspective and aided the field by developing several constructs related to self-concept (Hartung, 2013; Super, 1960, 1962, 1990).

Notably, Super received multiple awards and honorary doctorates for his work as a professor, including the APA's Distinguished Scientific Award for Contributions to the Applications of Psychology even after his first retirement from Teacher's College (Savickas, 1994b). Despite retiring multiple times, Super continued to re-innovate his life's research before his death in 1994 (Savickas, 1994b). As a 60-year member of the National Career Development Association, Super's contributions to the understanding of modern career development were immeasurable (Savickas, 1994a). The following sections include discussions about Super's Life-Span, Life-Space Theory, firstly focusing on Super's (1990) view of career development across space (2.5.2.), followed by career development across time (2.5.3.).

2.5.2. Career Development Across Space

In the spatial dimensions of Super's (1953, 1975, 1980, 1990) theory, three aspects appear to be prominent: (2.5.2.1.) life theatres, (2.5.2.2.) life roles, and (2.5.2.3.) career determinants. These will be discussed next.

2.5.2.1. Life Theatres

Super (1980) identified four principal ife-theatres or primary life-spaces in which individuals live their lives. Firstly, the home was theorised as the domesticated life-theatre; a life-space

where many individuals typically lived and carried out domestic duties from their births to their deaths. Secondly, the community was regarded as an integral life-theatre for most individuals, as the community constituted the life-spaces in which an individual was an active citizen and member of a larger community. Thirdly, the school (including higher education environments) was viewed as the primary educational life-theatre. This constituted all the spaces in which life-roles are played relating to gaining knowledge about the world, skills, and attitudes that are necessary for becoming a productive adult worker. Fourthly, the workplace was seen as a life-theatre in which individuals provided labour and productivity to advance some aspect of society.

Although various secondary life-theatres could also be shown to exist, Super (1980, 1990) explained that the cross-cultural and most frequently found theatres were of primary research interest to him. According to Super (1980), individuals who were indirectly remunerated for work done in their home theatres might have substituted the work theatre with the home theatre if these individuals did not formally enter the workplace for remuneration. However, various other life-theatres were often found in Super's (1975, 1980) research (e.g., religious institutions, clubs, unions, and retirement communities), but not all individuals enter these during their lifespans. Thus, all individuals shared all life-roles, even though these life-roles may have intersected with these spaces.

2.5.2.2. Life Roles

As individuals mature, they play a variety of progressively intersecting roles (Super, 1980). For instance, neonates play the role of dependant and child, but this role progressively expands when the neonate's dependence on sole-nurturance decreases (Sigelman & Rider, 2017). Subsequently, individuals step into the shoes of being a child to their parents, and later being a

student or scholar (Super, 1980). These roles typically increase in complexity and intersect with one another, leading to various conflicts in life (Yusuf & Hasnidar, 2020). These roles are usually also accompanied by a set of societal expectations and performance standards that individuals should fulfil progressively (Super, 1980).

Life roles are defined by expectation and performance (Super, 1980, 1990, 1996). On the one hand, life roles are defined by the expectations of observers, including the conceptions of the player (Napolitano et al., 2020; Super, 1980). On the other hand, life roles are defined by the satisfactory enactment of the various expected roles and the shaping of roles by the actor to suit the emergent role expectations (Super, 1957). Thus, both society's expectations and criteria for the successful fulfilment of a life role, as well as personal agency by the actor, are considered when describing and categorising various life-roles (Super, 1980; Yusuf & Hasnidar, 2020). It is important to note the personal agentic force that helps shape life roles, as Super's (1980) acknowledgement of an actor's personal choice in selecting and performing life-roles located individuals as primary enactors and synthesisers of their own careers, as well as personal and situational determinants through personal responsibility and choice. However, several roles were typically found in the individuals studied, even though it may have looked different due to idiosyncratic interaction and variation (Napolitano et al., 2020). Although this may have implied that some roles could be gender-linked, Super (1980) emphasised that they were not biologically sex-linked or determinate. For example, men and women often share household tasks in contemporary Western households, and other roles play into women's choices to become engineers or police officers, with men often choosing to become nurses or secretaries (Sue, 2010).

Although Super (1980) explained that numerous idiosyncratic roles might be found over an individual's life-course, nine major roles that are played by most individuals over the course of a lifetime were defined. Aside from the two roles mentioned, these life-roles include being

a leisurite, citizen, worker, homemaker, parent, and pensioner (Reardon, 2017; Reardon et al., 2017; Super, 1957, 1980). These roles most often occur chronologically, and although not all people share similar roles, they may share the experience of being played in various life-theatres (as described in the previous section) and the progressive intersection of all roles. At times, these life-roles may also have hierarchical importance to an individual, and success in one role often requires sacrifice in other roles (Perron et al., 1998).

Two successive life-roles, that of child and student, are important in the life space of an individual. The child role includes playing the part of either being a son or a daughter to a parent (Super, 1980). This role does not spontaneously disappear as the individual matures, but rather interacts with the other roles in various ways (Fraga et al., 2019). Super (1980) used the analogy of being a son or a daughter to a parent at one and 50, where both the societal expectation and the individual's performance of the said role will change. This role is further shaped by the student role, which includes playing the part of either scholar or apprentice at a school or in a primary learning environment, and it may later remain in the case of life-long learning (Jaeger et al., 2017; Super, 1990; Super, Savickas & Super, 1996). The decisions made in these roles are important determinants for several life-style factors at later stages.

Other important roles include the leisurite and citizen roles. The role of leisurite, which starts in childhood, involves the pursuit of leisure, as well as the experience of idling and attending to hobbies (Super, 1980). Although Super (1953, 1957) initially conceptualised this role as primarily avocational, the salience of the role is an important factor in various psychological health constructs, such as life- and career-satisfaction (Savickas, 2009). The role of citizen is also salient at various stages of the lifespan, especially after retirement (Super, 1980). In conjunction to these roles, individuals enter the worker role, which further shapes their expectations and performances.

Participation in the worker role is often expected of individuals to various degrees (Fraga et al., 2019; Super, 1980). This role was expanded to include working and the experience of unemployed workers and nonworkers (Super, 1990). Furthermore, the worker role is viewed as socially determined and socially alterable (Super, 1980). In other words, environmental factors play a substantial role in the shaping of one's worker role. According to Stead and Watson (2017), the worker role was not the primary life-role for many individuals and Super's metaphor of life-theatres provided necessary contextualisation for idiosyncratic or non-normative persons. Although the pensioner role only starts in later life, mere emotional investment in retirement may account for the emergence of the role throughout the worker's lifespan (Super, 1980). As the pensioner role is approached, various decisions, such as when or if to retire, and whether continued community involvement is warranted, are often faced (Mokgolodi, 2020).

The role of homemaker is also significant as it often traverses a substantial portion of an individual's lifespan. Therefore, the attendant expectations, which may all be culturally related and hierarchically valued, are clearly seen through this role (Super, 1980). For example, the division of gender-linked labour and responsibility in the household is most prominent in examining the homemaker role.

As was mentioned in the previous section, life-roles and life-spaces often intersect (Hirschi, 2020). When these life-roles and life-spaces matched and were mutually exclusive, individuals experienced role-space congruence (Aşik-Dizdar, 2018). For example, fathers or mothers in their parent roles could typically be expected to take care of their children and are often expected to aid in rearing others' children in certain societies. However, as parents let go of their worker roles as a result of developmental and environmental influences, they often need to be taken care of in various ways by their children or others' children (Naing et al., 2020).

Super's (1980) conceptualisation of life-roles also highlights the temporal importance of how each life-role change as new roles emerge. For example, during the school years, the child, student and leisurite roles take up the majority of the life-space (Super, 1980). However, as individuals age, they take on roles such as worker or citizen due to maturational and contextual forces (Super, 1980). It is therefore clear that the life-space, life-stage and life-roles intersect in a variety of ways (Mokgolodi, 2020). However, it also means that individuals play their respective roles in their respective spaces, but that spillage or role pressures could occur between the spaces if the roles and spaces conflict (Hirschi, 2020; Super, 1980, 1990; Yusuf & Hasnidar, 2020).

An individual's role congruence often decreases when roles spill into other theatres (Hirschi, 2020). For example, parents who fulfil their work roles may experience role spillage when they tend to children who have illnesses, leading to what Super (1980) termed secondary theatres, which refer to instances where individuals take work home (Lyness & Erkovan, 2016).

However, several researchers have found that increased role commitment does not necessarily lead to increased role strain, as some individuals may derive increased satisfaction from multiple-invested roles (Lyness & Erkovan, 2016). Perrone et al. (2006) found support for increased work and family satisfaction as a result of multiple role commitments (in support of Super's hypothesis). However, they also found no support for Super's (1980) notion that multiple role commitments necessarily increase work-family strain. According to Lyness and Erkovan (2016), this may be due to the individual meanings attributed by individuals to several different roles. Demerouti, Peeters, and Van der Heijden (2012) found support for Super's hypothesis and extended his model to incorporate the predictable work-family conflicts and issues across the life-stages. Similarly, Hartung (2013) asserted that role over-engagement might strain other roles, but role support ease stress in other life-spaces. Therefore, roles can

be complementary-supportive, or straining-conflictual, depending on the context and perceived meanings of the roles (Hartung, 2013; Super, 1975, 1980).

Moreover, due to the hierarchical grading of life-roles during specific life-stages, certain role-sacrifices are inherent. Super (1980) stated that the time invested in certain roles fluctuates as functions of the life-stages and emotional involvement during these stages. Parents, spouses and homemakers, for example, have to spend a disproportionate amount of time on child-rearing activities and domestic tasks, which may interfere with either their pursuit of fulfilling the leisurite roles or their worker roles (Super, 1980). Furthermore, individuals hierarchically grade their life-roles according to the life-space salience (Lyness & Erkovan, 2016), thus reflect Super's observations that "hobbies tend to be the pursuits of the very young, middle-aged, and older people" compared to young adults who attempt their establishment tasks (Super, 1980).

However, it seems that role salience is influenced by distinctive cultural and individual meanings that are placed on various roles, such as the worker role (Hartung, 2013; Lyness & Erkovan, 2016; Stead & Watson, 2015; Watson & Stead, 1990). Therefore, some authors, such as Stead and Watson (2017), called for an ethnographic expansion of Super's (1980, 1990) role-theory in modern ethnographic contexts. This has been a frequent feature in career research, as Super (1980) acknowledged that not only may the meaning of roles and the emotional investment in certain life-spaces differ across contexts, but also across time; the emotional involvement in specific life-roles tends to fluctuate (almost predictably) throughout the lifespan.

2.5.2.3. Career Determinants

Further contextualisation attempts and critiques against his theories led Super (1980) to elaborate his emerging career theory by emphasising the role of career determinants in the

lifecycle, resulting in Super's (1980, 1990) description of career determinants as moderating factors in the developmental cycle.

These career determinants are divided into situational and personal determinants (Super, 1980; Stead & Watson, 2017). Situational determinants comprise the external factors that help build a career self-concept, namely the economic, the societal, and labour market influences (Stead & Watson, 2017). For example, in order of most immediate to most remote determinants, families, communities, schools, employment practices, the socio-economic organisation, historical changes, and social structures all constitute situational determinants that influence individuals (Section 2.5.2.3). Personal determinants include biological heritage, various aptitudes, achievements, needs, values, interests, attitudes, and individual awareness (Super, 1990). It seems that these career determinants influence individuals in a multitude of ways and are essential to understanding the contextual histories of individual's careers (Stead & Watson, 2017).

2.5.3. Career Development across Time

According to Super (1980), most career theorists prior to the life-span theory were exclusively focused on occupational choice rather than career development. However, across Super's oeuvre, his developmental theorisation was the most influential contribution. These are subdivided into life stages, career commitment, and career maturity and adaptability, which will be discussed next.

Super (1980, 1990) proposed that individuals progress through five sequential life stages or maxi-cycles (see *Appendix A: Career ladder for a visual guide to the career development process*). Although Super et al. (1996) stated that various age norms were associated with these respective career stages, the temporality and context-boundness of these norms should be

acknowledged. Therefore, it has been argued that the arbitrary division of age-related change and stability in individual career development should be explicitly stated in cross-cultural research that utilises this conceptualisation (Katz, Rudolph, & Zacher, 2019).

2.5.3.1. Life-stages

According to Super (1957, 1990), each individual's career over the lifespan is demarcated by a series of predictable life-tasks that occur during five broad developmental stages. In the following subsections, the five developmental stages of career development (which Super termed maxi-cycles in his 1990 article) are explained sequentially. Each stage of development is further elaborated upon to include its respective subtasks and/or substages, despite Super abandoning the original notions of discreet stage-based development in favour of a more cyclical view of the broad maxi-cycles (Hartung, 2013). However, the original substages are also briefly explained as tasks, for the sake of clarity and thoroughness. The five stages of career development discussed next include the growth, exploration, establishment, maintenance (or management), and the decline stages (Super, 1957, 1975; Wehmeyer et al., 2018).

2.5.3.1.1. Growth Stage

Super's (1975, 1980) first stage, the growth stage, occurs from about birth to early adolescence. It is a largely prevocational stage but has major significance for the successful entry into future stages. Super subdivided the growth stage by incorporating Ginzberg's (1963) theory into his model. Therefore, three of the four substages in the growth stage (the fantasy, interest and capacity substages) are predominantly reminiscent of Ginzberg et al.'s (1951) theory. However, several psychosocial developmental tasks are also important in the growth stage

(Super, 1975, 1980), which extends from birth to about puberty, due to the interplay between various personal and situational determinants (Super, 1990).

Stead and Watson (2017) emphasised that children are faced with several major developmental tasks in the growth stage. Children, for example, have to increase their personal *control* and agency over their lives, even though many researchers still seem to believe that children are passive receivers of their environments (Robertson, 2016). Super (1975) similarly argued that children have agency as they actively shape the possible growth of their foundational skills, values or interests during this period and that their neglect or atrophy of certain potentials may cause depotentiation.

Zunker (2012) further argued that the development of personal agency and self-determination are integral in understanding the growth stage of career development. However, Robertson (2016) emphasised that personal agency in career decision-making is not only influenced by autonomy and self-efficacy, but also by legislative, political and social determinants. Furthermore, children convince themselves to achieve in their educational and future occupational roles (Stead & Watson, 2017).

During the growth maxi-cycle, children's abilities and interests typically start developing due to their interactions with their rapidly changing environments, as well as their physical, psychological, and mental maturation (Weiten et al., 2018). Children in the growth stage also shape their self-concepts by forming various attitudes and behaviours relating to the world of work (Savickas, 1997), often showing little to no career commitment during the first few years of their lives (Katz, Rudolph, & Zacher, 2019).

According to Super (1975), children's career choices during this stage are more reflective of their emotional needs than their aptitudes or genuine interests. However, career awareness rapidly grows as a child age (Katz, Rudolph, & Zacher, 2019). The growth stage is marked by

four psychosocial tasks that develop in children, namely (a) concern about the future, (b) decision-making control, (c) achievement conviction, and (d) competence in their work habits and attitudes (Hartung, 2013). This stage is further characterised by four subtasks, which prototypically occur in chronological order, namely, (a) the prevocational-curiosity, (b) fantasy, (c) interest and (d) capacity tasks (Weiten et al., 2018). These are briefly discussed next.

2.5.3.1.1.1. Prevocational-Curiosity

Infants and toddlers (from birth to 3 years) seldomly display significant concern about or interest in vocations during the prevocational substage (Weiten et al., 2018). Although psychodynamic theorists deem this formative period of an individual's life as important due to psychosocial and -sexual variables, infants and toddlers are not typically concerned about the meaning of work or careers, nor are they concerned about making concerted efforts at committing or obtaining more knowledge about careers (Savickas, 1997; Super & Bowlsbey, 1994). However, as these children age, their curiosity stimulates the feedback mechanism of autonomous exploration of the environment (Erikson, 1969), which, if paired with pleasant experiences, leads to later career exploration (Hartung, 2013). After that, career fantasy starts dominating as the primary mode of expression (Super, 1990).

2.5.3.1.1.2. Fantasy

With the emergence of fantasy play (approximately four to 10 years), middle children start fantasising about various careers that they approve of (Hartung, Porfeli, & Vondracheck, 2008). In middle children, various role-playing roles are important for language development, but also various socialisation tasks (Dunn & Craig, 2019; Super, 1953, 1975). According to

Thompson and Goldstein (2020), middle children primarily fantasise through role-playing. For example, children often role-play their teachers or salespersons, or other career images of salient careers to explore the meanings and possibilities of future work (Hartung, Porfeli, & Vondracheck, 2008). Children also learn to cooperate, to choose ability-enhancing activities, to take responsibility for their actions, as well as to perform household chores during their early fantasy role-playing (Thompson & Goldstein, 2020).

The middle child's career development is, however, dominated by career fantasy and almost no reality orientation, but is largely influenced by intentional modelling of significant role models. According to Super (1975, 1990), this is how children learn certain gender-linked behaviours and attitudes, which ultimately influence their later career development. Although it is imperative to understand the influence of sociological determinants in the process of such socialisation, social-learning perspectives, emphasise the role of the child's choice in choosing which role models are important enough to model from (Bem, 1981a, 1981b). It is this agentic process that allows children to identify important figures in the school and the household, which leads to socialisation (Super, 1975).

Therefore, the fantasy subtask is directly influenced by the cognitive and social development of the child, as well as the relationships that foster or hinder development (Super, 1975, 1990, Super et al., 1996). Furthermore, late pre-operational and early concrete thinking dominate the early stages of the fantasy stage due to neural maturation (Dunn & Craig, 2019). Evidently, pretend play, egocentrism, language development, and conservation are all found in relation to children's career narratives (Kolb & Wishaw, 2015; Myers, 2013), with the importance of career narratives, often seen in the saliency of first memories, being emphasised in this stage (Hartung, Porfeli, & Vondracheck, 2008).

It should also be noted that the choices expressed during the fantasy phase of this stage are normally not realistic, rigorously associated with the middle child's play life and it can frequently change (Super, 1975). Middle children make several statements surrounding the careers they would like to follow in their adult lives; however, this rarely remains stable (Super, 1975). According to Trice and McClellan (1993), these preliminary career choices not only frequently change, but usually have little long-term significance on the individual. Some people might not advance beyond the fantasy phase, with a lack of understanding about themselves and the world of work, hindering them from making effective choices at later stages (Lau et al., 2020).

In divergence of these popularly held beliefs, some authors have stated that early childhood career aspirations are not as ephemeral as was once thought. Trice and MClellan (1993) found that early childhood career aspirations are stronger predictors of future jobs than previous jobs were. However, it is agreed that children's capacity for reality-testing and social participation typically improve as cognitive development is enhanced (Osipow, 1968). The fantasy substage is followed by a brief stage known as the interest stage.

2.5.3.1.1.3. Interest

During the interest substage (approximately 11 to 12 years), children typically express increasing concern over their futures (Stead & Watson, 2017). This rising concern could lead to interests in various prevocational activities (Schreuder & Coetzee, 2016). Furthermore, children develop the attitudinal component to their life-roles due to their likes and dislikes taking prominence during this development stage (Briddick, Sensoy-Briddick, & Savickas, 2018). In combination with the emergence of the formal operational stage of cognitive development (Kolb & Wishaw, 2015), which allows children more abstract reasoning and

future planning (Santrock, 2016), children gain the increased ability to reflect on and influence their future work roles as a non-concrete institution (Hartung, 2013). Children in this stage also frequently develop career aspirations based on what they perceive as attainable, which could be based on stereotypical perceptions of social mobility (Turner, 2020). Subsequently, children develop capacity needs and enter a brief period before entering their next career developmental stage (Jordaan, 1974; Super, 1957, 1975; Super & Bohn, 1970).

2.5.3.1.1.4. Capacity

It is also during the final stages of the growth stage that children start identifying their work-related needs, values, and attitudes (Nagy et al., 2017). Roughly between the ages of 13 and 14, children start comparing their abilities and weigh their individual capacities against the requirements or characteristics of certain careers (Briddick et al., 2018). This relates to Watson and Stead's (2015) description of children being tasked with "acquiring competent work attitudes and habits" during the growth stage (p. 55). As children realise that they can increasingly control their environments, they become increasingly agentic (Stead & Watson, 2017). This roughly correlates with the final phases of Erikson's (1964, 1969) psychosocial stage of industry vs. inferiority, which leads to overall capacity building and psychosocial competence.

The increased agency of children during these final stages leads to what Super (1940, 1959) deemed a landmark of vocational maturity when taking ideographic and age-normed criteria into account during this stage. Therefore, children's maturational resolution of their psychosocial experiences, together with their personal and situational determinants, lead to increased searches for identity fidelity, which initiates the exploration of the maxi-cycle of career development (Briddick et al., 2018; Burston, 2006).

2.5.3.1.2. Exploration Stage

Between the ages of 14 and 24 years, adolescents and emerging adults are tasked with a general exploration of work and the world of work (Weiten et al., 2012). Adolescents and emerging adults gain the increased cognitive abilities to negotiate their identities with their psychosocial environments while managing and coping with significant somatic and social changes due to the effects of puberty (Zunker, 2008, 2012). For example, abstract reasoning starts occurring progressively during this stage as a result of the effect of prefrontal cortex maturation (Kolb & Wishaw, 2015). Adolescents are also expected to behave in more mature ways and are given increased responsibilities by their parents and teachers (Super & Overstreet, 1960). Therefore, the psychosocial determinants force adolescents into vocational identity searches.

This implies that adolescents should rise to the challenges of negotiating the inherent conflicts between self-identity, social roles, and societal and cultural expectations, including the integration of the natural conflicts that may arise from the interaction between any of these. For example, adolescents create personal fables such as those of immortality or invulnerability (Craig, 1996).

It has also been theorised that most individuals show low, yet increasing, career commitment during this stage relative to later stages (Katz, Rudolph, & Zacher, 2019; Super, 1975). The development and implementation of a new self-concept are also closely associated with this stage, together with needs, attitudes, and general knowledge regarding various industries and professions (Hartung, 2013; Wallace-Broscious et al., 1994). Paired with the rapid changes in social milieus, it is understandable that adolescents and early adults face various challenges that hinder or promote the implementation of their self-concepts (Hartung, 2013; Super, 1975; Super & Overstreet, 1960). According to Super (1975):

> Poor exploration may be mere floundering or even drifting, rather than systematic trial. But exploration results in the further development of abilities and interests, it confirms or contradicts the suitability of role models and of self-concepts, and it aids in their clarification, and it eventually makes possible their translation into occupational preferences and their implementation in paid employment. (p. 29)

It is therefore clear that individuals' exploratory goals are directly linked to their later career achievements, even if it does not seem planned. Moreover, during this stage, individuals are faced with the realities of their previously fantasised work-experiences and environments, which may lead to either congruence or incongruence between the environment and the self (Cron, 1984). For example, adolescents may experiment with different identities or after-school activities due to social or peer pressure but may discover essential knowledge about their own likes, needs, and abilities. This leads to multiple rapid self-concept changes and often motivates individuals to achieve more competence in their work roles by intentionally acquiring additional education, skills, knowledge, and attitudes required to succeed in their career aspirations (Hartung, 2013; Super, 1957, 1975).

Therefore, one of the primary outcomes for adolescents and early adults in this stage is self-discovery concerning the world of work, leading to increased career maturity (Hartung, 2013). In addition, during the exploration stage, individuals undergo an experiential experimentation phase in which they more consciously internalise the world of work (Weiten et al., 2012). Thus, the exploration stage has been associated with identity and fidelity seeking behaviours (Erikson, 1960, 1962) and has been described as chaotic and sporadic (Valsinger, 2006; Zunker, 2008). The chronological processes of crystallisation, specification and implementation (or actualisation) of vocational development characterise the exploration of the maxi-cycle (Hartung, 2013; Weiten et al., 2018; Zunker, 2012).

2.5.3.1.2.1. Crystallisation

Adolescents have to cope with crystallisation tasks; adolescents must cognitively cope with understanding their own interests, values, and skills in relation to their environments (Leung, 2008). Therefore, adolescents actively question themselves and their values and career plans with regard to their environments and others (Cella, 1980). According to Zunker (2012), this requires a tentative and experimental assessment of self-alternatives concerning a sense of vocational identity. Zunker (2012) also added that it is essential to realise that even though flexibility is an important requirement for this subtask, individuals need to integrate their "self-precepts into a stable structure" (p. 63), which enhances their career development. Thus, adolescents need to integrate their childhood beliefs, attitudes, and fantasies into a productive ego structure relating to occupational and vocational roles (Honess & Yardley, 2005; Super, 1990; Zunker, 2012). Successful coping with the crystallisation task could lead to the pursual of goals that are consistent with these self-understandings that were previously gained (Cella, 1980). However, this cannot occur if no crisis incongruence between the adolescent's identity and roles are experienced (Cella, 1980). Individuals who do not successfully complete the crystallisation task might remain with role confusion in the forms of vocational identity foreclosure or diffusion (Marcia, 1980).

2.5.3.1.2.2. Specification

Adolescents need to cope with the specification subtask as well (Leung, 2008; Super, 1990), and need to be able to make specific, yet tentative and transitional career choices (Leung, 2008). Once an individual makes a declaration of intent, for example, they essentially declare how they view themselves in relation to their environment (Zunker, 2012). This means that such a

declaration of intent in relation to a future career can be viewed as a successful completion of the crystallisation process and indicates the maturity to progress towards actualisation tasks. According to Cella (1980), this transitional process of vocational commitment refers to "the act of making a firm decision and course of action regarding one's belief systems and occupational plans" (p. 22). Therefore, commitment is essential for an achieved vocational identity status, with continued vocational experimentation extending the moratorium status (Cella, 1980; Marcia, 1980). However, individuals who have not negotiated or experienced the identity vs. role confusion crisis might end up with a foreclosed identity if they commit to a career path, or a diffused vocational identity if no commitment or crisis were experienced (Green, 2020; Marcia, 1980).

2.5.3.1.2.3. Actualisation and Implementation

Adolescents need to negotiate the implementation task (Super, 1990), which, according to Leung (2008), implies that adolescents progressively "actualise their career choices through engaging in training and job positions" (p. 121). Super and Hall (1978) stated that during this process, adolescents and emerging adults often attempt trial jobs. Although adolescents working in certain contexts have been pathologised for pre-emptively attempting to join the labour force (Greenberger & Steinberg, 1986), joining the part-time labour force as a late adolescent or early adult fulfils many economic and psychosocial needs for many adolescents (Chakravarty et al., 2017). Therefore, not only do trial jobs fulfil many psychosocial needs for individuals, but these experiences also provide the individual with a larger pallet to successfully negotiate their vocational identity and roles (Albien, 2018). Failure to successfully experiment with various vocational identities may result in role-confusion (Erikson, 1990).

However, availing oneself to the part-time labour force often comes at a cost for the adolescent; many sacrifices of educational and leisure time dominate in the pursuit of actualisation goals (Chakravarty et al., 2017). The process of implementation also leads to a re-conceptualisation of employability from extrinsic to intrinsic, which further helps to solidify career identity and choice (Gedye & Beaumont, 2018; Weiten et al., 2012). Zunker (2012) added that this stage frequently re-emerges in the individual lifecycle as the process of actualisation is never fully complete. The following stage in career development is the establishment stage (Giannantonio & Hurley-Hanson, 2011).

2.5.3.1.3. Establishment Stage

During the establishment stage, late-emerging and early adults advance their career choices via stabilisation and consolidation (Dix & Savickas, 1995). According to Watson and Stead (2006), this stage spans from about 25 to 44 years of age. During this stage, increasing career commitment is often a consequence of increased responsibilities, experiences, and maturation (Nagy et al., 2017; Super, 1975), thus leading to an advancement and increased personal life stability (Nagy et al., 2017). It seems that the increased career commitment relates to the increased career consolidation attempts that individuals exert during this stage (Hess & Jepsen, 2009). However, according to Super (1975), many individuals flounder, drift or stagnate during this period due to poor career education. This maxi-cycle is also further divided into the trial (25-30 years) and stabilisation substages (about 31-44 years) (Weiten et al., 2012).

2.5.3.1.3.1. Trial

Initially, individuals are presented with uncertainty about their career or performance potential (Slocum & Cron, 1985). However, the trial substage of the establishment stage involves the

relative stability of jobs, with frequent changes accompanying the individual's attempt at balancing their different life-roles (Super, 1975).

2.5.3.1.3.2. Stabilisation

During the stabilisation substage, individuals have already chosen and committed to an occupation or have made serious attempts at reaching their personal goals (Slocum & Cron, 1985; Super, 1975, 1980), with their emerging lifestyles predominating in their career needs. Generally, individuals did not attempt to leave their organisations during this stage, despite decreased job-satisfaction due to possible routinisation (Slocum & Cron, 1985). Therefore, the mastery of tasks predominates during this stage (Slocum & Cron, 1985), which is also often paired with decreased mobility resulting from increased career investment and commitment. The following stage is the maintenance or management stage of career development.

2.5.3.1.4. Management Stage

During the maintenance or management stage (Savickas, 2002), individuals have "to hold on to what they have established" (Hess & Jepsen, 2009, p. 265). According to Slocum and Cron (1985), this is because of the tendency of individuals to continue doing similar things to what helped them to establish their lifestyles during the previous stage. Individuals strive to maintain their positions and to continue their relationships with their employers (Slocum & Cron, 1985). Giannontonio and Hurley-Hanson (2006) stated that "individuals are concerned with maintaining their self-concepts and their present job status" (p. 323).

To Super (1975), individuals enter the maintenance or management stage at around 45, even though many women enter a second re-exploration and re-establishment stage during their 30s. However, the predominant life-tasks for individuals seem to be to preserve, manage or maintain

their previously established career positions and momentum, while being productive and holding their own against younger individuals in their respective fields (Kosine & Lewis, 2008; Super, 1975).

Super (1975) also found that during this stage, individuals are often concerned with keeping abreast of the newest developments in their respective career fields and generate valuable developments for their progeny in their respective fields. This stage is very similar to Erikson's (1968) generativity vs. self-stagnation stage, as individuals are faced with not only holding on but also contributing to society or the workforce in various ways. Super (1975) remarked that if the conditions for successful involvement in this stage were not met, individuals felt frustrated, whereas they would experience fruition if the conditions were met.

2.5.3.1.5. Disengagement or Decline Stage

During the decline stage, older adults typically disengage from their work roles by either decelerating their work activities and normal habitual activities or abruptly stopping their engagement in such roles (Hess & Jepsen, 2009; Super, 1975). This often leads to feelings of loss or despair, as individuals may be forced to retire from their work roles due to declining physical and cognitive prowess (Demetriou et al., 2020; König et al., 2019). In modernity, many individuals are also influenced by institutionalised and legislative forced disengagements from their work roles (König et al., 2019). However, such disengagements may be a source of new meaning for some, as energy is freed up for possible displacement into other life-roles, such as pensioner, annuitant, grandparent, patient or community member (Super, 1975, 1990). Many individuals who retire or are forced to retire, increase their life-satisfaction and reflexivity as they disengage from their work roles, with many individuals realising that new stimulating opportunities and choices can be made due to this displacement (Andoh, 2019;

Erikson et al., 1986). The deceleration and retirement substages comprise the substages of this maxi-cycle (Weiten et al., 2018).

2.5.3.1.5.1. Deceleration and Retirement

Another important task for late-career individuals is to develop and adapt self-images independent of career success (Nagy et al., 2017). This self-image adaptation often occurs in conjunction with a decline in occupational energy and interest; however, according to Super (1975), individuals who carried some of their occupational or work-tasks over into their retirement were happier than those who did not.

2.5.4. Career Patterns

Over the lifespan, careers often develop in several ways (Super, 1975). The number, duration, and sequencing of jobs determine the career type (Savickas, 2001). According to Super (1975), four typical career patterns have been found for men, namely (a) stable (entry and continuance in an occupation after training), (b) unstable (serial or alternating periods of longer periods of infrequent changes), (c) conventional (some change, then occupational stability) and (d) multiple trial careers (frequent changes and short periods in any one occupation). Watson and Stead (2006) confirmed the modern face validity of these categories. It should be noted that Super (1957, 1975) conducted his research during the 20th century, and his samples may appear to be biased now due to historical changes over the last few decades. However, Super (1957, 1975, 1985) identified four additional career patterns for 20th-century women, although it is arguable that many societal shifts have happened over the last 50 years, which have influenced career patterns substantially. Savickas (2001) argued that Super's conceptualisation of the four career patterns is invariably influenced by individual recycling of crystalising, specifying,

implementing, and stabilising tasks. Women’s occupational mobility has also been extensively researched and has been found to have increased in the last 50 years (Bose & Rossi, 1983). Overall career mobility has, however, increased over the last century due to several economic factors, and careers tend to look more boundaryless than before (Kundi et al., 2020).

2.5.5. A Note on Mini-cycles

Due to the age-norm and cultural difference critiques that were discussed earlier in the chapter, several of Super’s (1990) substages have been reconceptualised as vocational tasks instead. Super (1990) included the concept of mini-cycles in his initial theory, in which he proposed that during each stage of life, one goes through all of the same stages from growth to disengagement, particularly during periods of intense transitions due to either organic life-cycle changes or unexpected socio-economic changes (Leung, 2008; Super, 1992). Furthermore, several psychological expectations and concerns seem to remain stable across the stages, regardless of an individual’s stage status. This has been empirically verified by several researchers (Hess & Jepsen, 2009). The recycling of stages is especially important, as Super’s models attempted to take the individual’s ecology into account when formulating his theory (Leung, 2008).

Super (1957) also mentioned that many individuals recycled these mini-cycles rather than always, linearly moving through the maxi-cycles. Hess and Jepsen (2009) acknowledged this and argued that individuals’ career concerns at various stages seem to be more important than the actual broad stages of career development. Therefore, certain expectations and career concerns may predominate during a maxi-cycle, but many individuals may be re-experiencing mini-cycles instead of being predominated by their maxi-cycle (Hess & Jepsen, 2009; Savickas, 2009).

2.5.6. Career Commitment

Constructs such as career commitment were not explained in Super's (1990) emerging theory, although some researchers have extended the developmental theory to adjust for the lack thereof. Super (1980, 1990) initially proposed that the emotional involvement of various life-roles tends to change in predictable patterns as individuals age and that individual work attitudes and behaviours differed markedly in the consecutive normative stages.

Katz, Rudolph, and Zacher (2019) indicated that the neglected career commitment construct provided an explanatory mechanism for the unfolding of Super's research opus. This is due to the assertion that career commitment and withdrawal behaviours and cognitions are negatively related (Katz, Rudolph, & Zacher, 2019). In addition, chronological age and career commitment have been shown by some researchers to be strongly positively correlated (Carson, Carson, & Lanford, 1997; Otto & Dalbert, 2013; Ragins, Cotton, & Miller, 2000), even though numerous researchers have found contrasting negative relationships between chronological age and career commitment (Carless, 2005; Ellemers, De Gilder, & Van den Heuvel, 1998; Major, Morganson, & Bolen, 2013). In order to solve this dilemma, Katz, Rudolph and Zacher (2019) conducted a meta-analytic review of longitudinal career commitment studies and found support for a possible negative curvilinear relationship between chronological age and career commitment (see *Appendix B*).

Therefore, career commitment could be theorised as a function of age, and various deductions could be made from this assertion. Furthermore, various authors found that career commitment mediated variables such as callings and job-satisfaction, including withdrawal intentions (Duffy, Dik & Steger, 2011). Super (1964, 1980, 1990) also assumed that an organic mechanism for the unfolding of career stages and career maturation could be found, and that

career commitment may account for a great amount of the variation in developmental stage progression (Leung, 2008).

2.5.7. Career Maturity and Adaptability

Super progressively emphasised the normative role that career maturity played in the career choices of individuals. Career maturity involved an adolescent's readiness to make career or educational choices (Stead & Watson, 2017). Therefore, initially, career maturation was defined in relation to expected career behaviours and tasks during particular life-stages or ages (Super, Savickas & Super, 1996; Watson & Stead, 1990). For example, important tasks for career maturity and readiness during the exploration stage related to the gaining of self- and career knowledge, as well as decision-making and planning skills (Stead & Watson, 2017).

According to Hartung (2013), each career development stage should be associated with adaptive goals. At any given moment during the career journey, individuals must negotiate and complete life-tasks that are essential for successful development (Super, 1990). Thus, the foundations that influence individuals' later development are laid during each life-stage and influence the construction of the individual's self-concept. Some tasks involve the continuous establishment and maintenance of career concern, career control, career curiosity, and career confidence as the self-concept and the vocational identity align (Schreuder & Coetzee, 2016).

Vondracek and Reitzle (1998) highlighted that historical and macroeconomic contexts influence career maturity more than researchers were initially led to believe. In addition, Stead and Watson (2017) added that although the clinical utility of career maturity as a construct was valuable, the value-laden construct should not overshadow the reality of research efforts that have consistently shown that the construct validity of career maturity remains questionable in various contexts.

Evidently, other researchers have suggested that career adaptability, rather than career maturity, seemed to better capture the essence of Super's (1990) acknowledgement of changing career landscapes. Savickas (1997, 2002, 2005) asserted that career adaptability provides a better bridging for Super's career stages across contexts. Thus, if the main task for traversing the career stages becomes career adaptability, which is composed of concern, curiosity control, and confidence (Korkmaz & Önder, 2019), the transitional elements of career development become more apparent and negotiable. Re-operationalising career maturity as career adaptability also allowed researchers to track individuals' coping abilities in relation to their changing environments and circumstances with more accuracy and ease (Watson & Stead, 2015). This also meant that individuals were traced with regard to their balancing of several different life-roles more meaningfully across contexts (Stead & Watson, 2017). Few researchers, if any, seem to have studied the implications of the temporal and history-boundness of Super's developmental theory. The spatial or milieu-boundness (life-space), as well as the developmental unfolding (life-stage) of individual career patterns, have however been studied extensively (Super, 1975; Super, Savickas & Super, 1996).

Providing a model for how individuals cope with the developmental tasks associated with specific life-stages is one of the aims of Super's Life Span, Life Space career perspective (Super, 1992). Therefore, these two integrated models are delineated in the following section.

2.6. Integration: Models of Career Development

Even though Super (1980, 1990) attempted to explicitly integrate his separate theories twice during his lifetime, he (1980) stated that an all-encompassing theory of career development could not be attainable due to the variety of factors that intersect in the conceptualisation of a career. Therefore, career development should necessarily be investigated using multi-

theoretical and transdisciplinary lenses. The following sections briefly explain the two integrative frameworks for conceptualising the career across the lifespan, as proposed by Super's (1975, 1976, 1980, 1990) theory.

2.6.1. Career Rainbow

Super (1980) aimed to synthesise his emerging theories about the development of individual careers by using a rainbow metaphor. Super (1980, 1984) proposed that individual career development could be visually plotted and represented using a career rainbow. Savickas (1994) stated that the heuristic model was easy to understand and grasp, and it became one of the most reprinted articles of Super's professional life.

In *Appendix C*, a graphic representation of the career rainbow is presented, and two dimensions are apparent in this model. Firstly, the individual age-related stage development can be seen horizontally on the rainbow. Secondly, the social roles an individual plays in the various life-spaces or theatres can be traced vertically. The six major life-roles are represented across the schematic life-space, albeit with different intensities across the various stages. More densely defined bands represent areas in which an individual asserts more energy playing the particular life-role in the specific career stage, whereas less densely coloured areas represent life-roles that take subsided prominence. Therefore, the normative stage-related career development can be traced graphically as intersections of the several different social roles an individual occupies in life across time.

According to Stead and Watson (2017), Super (1980) aimed to integrate his loose segmental theories and his various theoretical prepositions visually with this model because of his increased focus on social role theory later in his career. According to Super, Savickas and Super (1996), the self also acts as "the integrator" of the various experiences that the individual is

subjected to through occupying life spaces and by playing various life-roles across the temporal dimension (p. 128). Situational and personal determinants (discussed earlier in the chapter) are also alluded to across the model, but the career archway model illustrated this more thoroughly.

2.6.2. Career Archway Model

Due to criticisms directed at Super's earlier attempts at generalising, Super (1990) later recombined several elements of his and other career-related research into a second model for understanding the development of the self in relation to careers. This model, the archway model of career determinants (*Appendix D*), extended his previous heuristic model of longitudinal career development with another schematic representation. In this model, Super (1990) extended his initial attempts at conceptualising careers by placing the career rainbow on a set of pillars (*see Appendix D*).

The left pillar represents personal determinants (discussed earlier in the chapter) as the basis of the career rainbow. The right pillar indicates the situational determinants (also discussed in Chapter 2.5.2.3) as the other basis of the career rainbow. When these two pillars are visualised to support the career rainbow, it is evident that all of these unique factors culminate into a developmental self-concept, which was previously argued to be the integrator of the individual's experience of the career in development.

According to Stead and Watson (2017), the individual reserves the agency to choose how to integrate the various elements of the career determinant pillars into a coherent self-concept. This was important, as Super (1996) asserted that these various determinants interacted in unique ways, although the individual remained the key decision-maker in the process of constructing the self and the career.

2.6.2.1. Developmental Self-Concept

It has been stated that one of Donald Super's most influential contributions to career theory has been his emphasis on the explicit connection between career development and the development of self-concept. Patton and McMahon (2014) agreed by stating that self-concept was a central element of an individual's career development. According to Giannantonio and Huley-Hanson (2011), self-efficacy, personality, values, and self-esteem, all contributed to one's self-concept.

Super (1959, 1962) also argued that individuals made vocational choices as dynamic optimisations of their self-understandings and as expressions of their self-concepts at life-stage intersections. Kosine and Lewis (2008) added that vocational self-concept referred to all vocationally relevant attributes, which meant that an individual's self-concept also fluctuated throughout their life-stages in interactions with their environments and their life-roles.

By implication, individuals made career choices and were engaged in work roles that allowed them to implement and develop their self-concepts in increasingly congruent ways (Kosine & Lewis, 2008). Savickas (2002) later asserted that the career construction process was a "process of developing and implementing self-concepts in work roles" (p. 155). Thus, a self-concept was necessarily ever-evolving and dynamic (Leung, 2008). The progression of ideas clearly implied that the self-concept was a malleable construct that continued to fluctuate and change as developmental environments and experiences change (Stoltz & Apodeca, 2017). Even though Super (1964) strived to integrate the wide variety of career developmental theory that was available during the previous century, his theory has not been without criticisms.

2.7. Critiques of Super's (1910 – 1994) Career Theory

Despite Super's (1910 – 1994) theory of career development continuing to influence various postmodern approaches to career theory, the theory has been critiqued (Schreuder & Coetzee,

2016). For Nagy, Froidevaux and Hirschi (2019), traditional models of career development, such as Super's (1980) model, might have been normative in traditional organisations during the 20th century, but the relevance of these theories remains questionable because careers have changed much over the last century (Savickas, 2009). Moreover, only limited support or interest has been found for the conceptualisation of pre-industrialised careers (Harris, 2020).

Furthermore, an organismic bias has been highlighted in several developmental theories of career development, including in Super's model (Vondracek & Reitzle, 1998). Context and cultural applicability were often neglected in most of these developmental theories, which were used to generalise the experiences of "normal" career development (Watson & Stead, 2015). Levinson and his colleagues (1978), and to a lesser extent, Cron (1984) and Havighurst (1981), were also accused of organismic biases in their developmental theories (Vondracek & Reitzle, 1998). As was alluded to earlier in the chapter, the initial preponderance on finding universalised experiences of normal career development often neglected to include situational, social, and personal determinants that influenced individual career access and development.

Ornstein et al. (1989) found that most of the research literature on career development was focused on male individuals who assumed white-collar careers. Therefore, researchers such as Levinson needed to adapt their theories by including more representative samples in their empirical research efforts (Aktu & Ilhan, 2017). Many of the models of career stages may have inadvertently been biased against women or even privileged towards men, although significant attempts have been made to be more inclusive in theorising (Patton & McMahon, 2014).

In response to the perceptions of universal career development, feminist and postcolonial scholars have also critiqued that Super (1957) may have placed too little emphasis on the access to work or career privileges held by mainly white cisgender males. Worell and Remer (2003) stated a case for external factors that seemed to uniquely influence women's career

development, for example. Factors such as motivation, gender-role socialisation, and the structure of opportunity are clearly implicated in the developmental unfolding of an individual's career (Astin, 1984; Patton & McMahon, 2014).

This implicitly leads to many questions regarding whether traditional (i.e., "universal") career theories could account for narratives created by those who participate in marginalised careers, such as with individuals who participate in sex-work (Pitcher, 2019). Furthermore, many African men could not hold the privileges mentioned above in the past due to institutionalised and often explicit racism that barred and blocked Black men's potential upwards movements or access to institutions (Freund, 2013).

Additional concerns of exploitation, unfair, and capital-driven outsourcing practices block millions of persons from opportunities to legitimised careers in the traditional sense of the term career's usage. Savickas (2012) redefined careers as "a recurrent selling of services and skills to a series of employers who need projects completed" (p. 9). Clearly, more effort was required to destigmatise the term 'careers' (Mazur, 2015).

In the same vein, women only recently officially entered the workforce as legitimate participants if considered against the background of Western history, as, according to Bishop (2020), "women were often restricted to a 'private' sphere of home and family" until relatively recently in the last century (p. 95). Therefore, many women who worked or even followed career pathways were not considered to have careers due to the oppressive nature the term has held over the centuries (Bishop, 2020).

However, Worell and Remer (2003) stated that views such as Super's (1976) seem to have been compatible with women's empowerment in modern organisations, despite the appearance of initial neglect in the research literature. In a later revision of his theory, Super (1990) introduced more flexibility in the conceptualisation of career development across the lifespan.

Where earlier versions of Super's (1957, 1980) disparate career theories appeared too deterministic, linear, and age-related, later reformulations addressed the contextual factors adequately by introducing the concept of recycling (Sullivan & Ariss, 2019).

In addition, postmodernist critiques of Super's initial consecutive life-stage theories highlighted that unique cultural and historical norms could be found in the age-related criteria of consecutive development (Nagy, Froidevaux, & Hirschi, 2019). Although career development in the 21st century cannot be expected to strictly follow such progressive patterns, certain psychosocial developmental tasks do seem to appear cross-culturally and across gender and spatial geographies (Savickas, 2002, 2009). Some scholars have discouraged researchers from widening the potential gaps in gendered career literature by perpetuating stereotypes based on essential gender differences. Researchers have, therefore, called for advancing career development research by emphasising the deconstructive value of career meanings and tasks over the lifespan (Stead & Watson, 2017).

In highlighting the former, some authors have argued that "careers" are loaded with middle-class perceptions that subscribe to irrelevant ideologies about work (Richardson, 1993, 1996, 2000). In response, various researchers have suggested that modern career researchers should shift their focus from grand careers to the subjective and constructed meanings that individuals and groups ascribe to their work histories (Collin & Watts, 1996; Miller-Tiedeman, 1988, 1999). This not only counteracts the harsh criticism against traditionalist approaches to career development but also contributes more empathic regard towards the understandings of idiosyncratic career choices and the unfolding of individual careers as they are individually and collectively constructed (Patton & McMahon, 2014). The following section aims to examine the present status of Super's (1976, 1990) career development theory.

2.8. The Present Status of Super's Theoretical Contributions

After Donald Super's death in 1994, Mark Savickas extended Super's work. It is interesting to observe that Savickas (1994) shared psychobiographical insight into the development of the late Super's personal career development in an elegiac article titled: *Donald Edwin Super: The Career of a Planful Explorer*. In this article, Savickas (1994) reconstructed Donald Super's career development narrative by utilising Super's (1957) own career stages and its respective career tasks. To date, Mark Savickas seems to remain the primary custodian of Super's work, and many changes had been made to Super's initial theoretical contributions since his death in 1994 (e.g., Savickas, 1997, 2002, 2005, 2012). Presently, many changes to Super's seminal theory have been introduced by Savickas (1997, 2002a, 2005). One such major development was discussed earlier in the chapter in critique of career maturity. Savickas (1997, 2002, 2005) advocated for career adaptability as a core construct in career development and has extended Super's research by improving the clinical utility and the integrity of the theoretical models. Before his death, Super (1990) also attempted to reformulate his maxi-cycles and mini-cycles, although Savickas (1997, 2002, 2005) further argued for the recycling of all career stages in different stages of decision-making across the career lifespan. Allowing for more nuance, contextualisation, and ideographic interpretation, Savickas (2001, 2002, 2005) extended Super's Life-Span, Life-Space theory by reframing several of the findings from career-construction viewpoints.

Overall, the historical changes in the last few years have also led to developing the idea of the protean and boundaryless careers in contemporary literature (Savickas, 2009). With the onset of the 21st-century career landscape, several important changes were observed in how individuals constructed their own careers (Savickas, 2009, 2013). Not only are individuals expected to be more self-generative and adaptable in their careers, but the linear and vertical-hierarchical structure that predominated in 20th-century organisations have been replaced by

multilevel and multidirectional career pathways, which are forged by individuals rather than foretold (Savickas, 2009; Collin & Watts, 1996). Therefore, the staged-based criterion that appeared relevant in the previous century might not be relevant or valid anymore (Savickas, 2009).

There has also been an increased focus on intercultural, diversity-focused, and contextualised career research (Leong & Serafica, 2001; Savickas, 2002). Several psychometric developments have been made in this regard (see Hartung, 2013; Stead & Watson, 2017). Savickas (2011) also introduced many clinical applications by implementing Super's (1957, 1980, 1990) theory into modern psychological practice, such as the Managing Model of Career Education.

Although the world of work might sound more idyllic today due to the liberty and choices that have been made opportune, this might still not be as optimistic as it sounds. Some authors have also noted that with decreased job security, increased free agency and autonomy have evolved in the modern career landscape (Amundson, Parker & Arthur, 2002; Savickas, 2005). This seems to mimic the pre-industrialised world in several unexpected ways. However, opportunity structures, stereotyping, and modelling have been found to influence life-role salience and preferences substantially, especially with the careers of women (Perron et al., 1998; Super, 1980; Super et al., 1996).

Proponents of Super's theoretical work emphasise that its contributions far outweigh the criticisms lodged at it (Hartung, 2013; Savickas, 2002, 2011, 2013b; Stead & Watson, 2017). Although some researchers still debate the validity of Super's theories, especially across historical periods and contexts (Salomone, 1996; Savickas, 2009, 2013b), it is proposed that the developmental underpinnings of individual career constructions still guide the universal

developmental patterns that guide how certain career choices are made across the lifespan, due to cognitive, social, biological and psychological expansion.

2.9. Chapter Conclusion

In this chapter, the main literature surrounding career theory, with a particular focus on Donald Super's theory, was discussed. This was accomplished by first defining, and differentiating various terms from careers, followed by brief discussions of some developmental theories of careers. An overview of Donald Super's biography was also given before his developmental theory for career development was discussed at length. The chapter concluded with the present status of Super's career theory and its relevance for the present study. In the following chapter, an overview of Jane Austen's life-history will be provided.

Chapter 3

Jane Austen's Life and Context

3.1. Introduction to the Chapter

In this chapter, the major biographical findings of Jane Austen's (1775 – 1817) lifespan are presented. The historical Georgian Era (circa 1714 -1837) with specific focus on the Regency Period (1811-1820) in England will be briefly explained with references made to the monarchy, marriage, inheritance laws, and the development of the novel. This is followed by presenting a chronological life-history of Jane Austen in five periods: Steventon (1775 – 1787); Juvenilia (1787 – 1789); Novels (1789 – 1800); Bath (1800- 1805); and Chawton (1805 – 1817). These periodisations were not arbitrarily made but based on the chronological and historical life-stages that may align to theoretical life-stages commonly accepted in developmental psychology. The chapter deliberately refers to various contextual, social, political, historical, and familial influences in her development across the lifespan. The chapter concludes with a discussion about Austen's rising popularity and influence after her death.

3.2. Historical Background: Georgian and Regency Period England

King George III (1738 – 1820) ruled England by the time of Jane Austen's birth in 1775 (Adkins & Adkins, 2013; Claassen, 2013). However, when Jane passed away in 1817, his son, Prince George, acted as regent due to King George's declaration of insanity in 1811 (Adkins & Adkins, 2013; Todd, 2005). This led to the regent prince George becoming King George IV in 1820 after eight years of acting as Prince Regent (Claassen, 2013). During the regency period, which lasted from 1811 to 1820 (Johnson & Tuite, 2020), England became increasingly

impoverished due to Prince Regent's decadent and spendthrift lifestyle (Adkins & Adkins, 2013; Claassen, 2013). King George IV was also known to be an extravagant collector and builder, causing many debts that made the public dislike him (Claassen, 2013).

It is interesting to note that Jane Austen travelled more than most women of the time, even though she had never left England once during her life (Adkins & Adkins, 2013; Kindred, 2006). However, England looked much different during the Georgian period than today (Alexandrova, 2019). For example, by 1801, the entire population of England was reportedly as big as half of the present-day London population (Adkins & Adkins, 2013).

Adkins and Adkins (2013) stated that even though Jane's historical milieu was surrounded by the quiet countryside and trips to busy resort towns such as Bath, hostility and frequent revolutionary wars were taking place in both France and America. However, Jane only wrote the war-milieu into her texts' background and never explicitly addressed it, despite having two brothers in the navy at later stages (Kelly, 2017). Furthermore, social mobility was constantly questioned during the Georgian and Regency periods, although true social mobility was rare, as there existed an apparent threat of French invasion throughout most of Jane Austen's life (Claassen, 2013). Major inequalities also existed between the minority of wealthy individuals and the majority of poor individuals who were often dependent on state welfare and charity due to the extreme inflation on basic and essential needs. Not only had the class structure been under threat, but by the end of Jane Austen's life, England was filled with protests against the impending doom of the first industrial revolution (Alexandrova, 2018. 2019).

While Jane Austen wrote realism, focusing primarily on the middle and upper classes, English society was largely stratified during the 1700 and 1800s (Adkins & Adkins, 2013; Ireland, 2020). To this extent, the poor lived in squalor, the country families were indifferent

to the times, and the working class tirelessly laboured, while the middle class lived well, and the rich gluttonously (Adkins & Adkins, 2013; Todd, 2005).

Attempting to cross this class divide was clearly socially sanctioned and arranged or forced marriages often took place in lower classes to perpetuate the class divide (Adkins, & Adkins, 2013). Marriage for love, specifically between social classes, was almost unheard of outside the realm of fiction (Adkins & Adkins, 2013; Sutherland, 2011; Todd, 2005). To complicate matters, females of the higher classes were literally given away by their fathers to their husbands at their weddings, as the father's possession and control of the woman were ceded if she got married (Adkins & Adkins, 2013; Todd, 2005). Inheritance laws during this time were also extremely restrictive and legally oppressive, as women "could not legally own land or have a separate source of income" unless it was specified in a marriage settlement (Adkins & Adkins, 2013, p. 12). Therefore, marriage was often a means to economic security, especially if a woman did not have a generous dowry, and freedom, courtship, love, and marriage were a far cry from reality for many individuals (Adkins, & Adkins, 2013; Claassen, 2013).

Marriages were also governed under the Marriage Act of 1753, which meant that valid marriages had to be conducted by an Anglican clergy-member in a church (Adkins & Adkins, 2013; Austen-Leigh, 2013). However, besides murdering their husbands, running away or annulling the marriage settlement, there was no reversal of marriage for women because no divorce laws existed (Todd, 2005). Therefore, marriage was a significant investment for women, but often the only way to ensure an income or continuance of estate after their fathers' death (Adkins & Adkins, 2013; Austen-Leigh, 2013). Men, on the one hand, were charged for impregnating women out of wedlock due to the strain the church parish had to take on with upkeeping a poor mother with child, and unmarried men were either forced into marriage, given the choice to pay the parish for upkeep or sent to prison under the Bastardy Act of 1733 (Adkins & Adkins, 2013; Todd, 2005). Women who fell pregnant outside of wedlock were forced to

name the alleged father and risked severe social sanctions (Adkins & Adkins, 2013; Todd, 2013). However, women "effectively had no legal status, and any children belonged to [their] husband[s]" (Adkins & Adkins, 2013, p. 13).

3.3. A brief note on novels: Setting the Scene for Jane's Career

After England relaxed its governmental control over publishing early in the 1700s, many books could be published (Adkins & Adkins, 2013). Furthermore, modern novels had not been in existence prior to the 18th century (Steeves, 2020). However, by the time Jane Austen started writing, the novel was stigmatised and often criticised (Adkins & Adkins, 2013), as it was seen as escapism or pulp fiction (Adkins & Adkins, 2013; Steeves, 2020; Todd, 2005). Regardless, novels were still an experiment in writing for various authors of the 18th century (Steeves, 2020). After the publication of Horace Walpole's, *The Castle of Otranto* (1764), the sale and distribution of Gothic horror novels started to flourish in England (Adkins & Adkins, 2013). In these novels, suspense and supernatural elements were often at the forefront of literary devices utilised by authors (Adkins & Adkins, 2013). In contrast to the popular novels of the time, Jane Austen wrote realistically, highlighting the follies, social ills, and perils of the upper classes of England's society she observed (Adkins & Adkins, 2013; Johnston, 2010).

In addition to her experimentations with novel-writing, Steeves (2020) argued that Jane Austen had been important to society precisely because of her subversive use of historiographic techniques and her writing of real, in contrast to fantasy or imaginary, spaces. This apparently cemented her status in literary history as the first modern novelist (Steeves, 2020), although she did not once refer to herself as a novelist (Johnston, 2010). However, it has been frequently stated that although many pre-novels existed before Austen had written her novels, the reading of fiction was typically reserved for the upper classes during the first half of the 18th century

(Steeves, 2020). Therefore, there were elitist, sentimental, and often moralistically prejudiced undertones in many of the experimental novels of the time, while Austen's characters were based on real-life persons (Steeves, 2020; Todd, 2005). Steeves (2020) praised Jane Austen by stating that she:

> disregarded theatrical situations, took the primary virtues for granted, introduced … characters without aristocratic arrogance and equally without a proletarian axe to grind, made her characters flexible and amenable to reason, made a virtue of social intelligence, and wrote in a language close to everyday use. No one before her had accomplished all of these things; few had accomplished many of them; many had accomplished none. (p. 16)

Thus, Austen's presentation of realistic, concrete and relatable characters was extremely important in the formation of the novel as it is known today (Steeves, 2020; Todd, 2005). Even though Jane Austen was not considered a public figure, nor reached the peak of her fame during her lifetime, she remains the first known author of a modern novel (Steeves, 2020; Sutherland, 2011; Todd, 2005).

Austen did not keep any journals or diaries during her lifetime, although she frequently exchanged letters with various women and wrote short stories and poems which she dedicated to others in her immediate environment (Le Faye, 2011; Sabor, 2009; Woolsey, 2019). She made keen observations, wrote wittily, and pointed social commentary by using irony and social realism (Pollen, 2018). However, Cassandra, Jane's sister, has destroyed most of Jane's letters after her death by throwing it into a furnace (Nokes, 1997). Therefore, much of the historical record of Jane's life from her own perspective has been left to speculation (Le Faye, 2011). The literate Austen family had been accused of trying to intentionally present Jane Austen's life in a saint-like manner after her death (Le Faye, 2004, 2011; Todd, 2005; Walker,

2005). For example, Walker (2005) commented on Cassandra Austen's watercolour and pencil portrait of Jane Austen, which the Austen family seem to have doctored.

3.4. Jane Austen: A Historical Sketch

The following section explores the life and context of Jane Austen through five periods. The first section, 3.4.2. Steventon (1775 – 1787) explores her pre-infancy to middle childhood development. In 3.4.3. Juvenilia (1787 – 1789), the author's adolescence, is explored. This is followed by an exploration of the author's preliminary novel-writing in 3.4.4. Novels (1789 – 1800) and her later moves to Bath after her father retired from the clergy in 3.4.5. Bath (1800-1805). After the passing of her mentor and father, just a month apart, Jane's life drastically changed. Therefore, Section 3.4.6., Chawton (1805 – 1817) explores the last period of her life. The following section briefly describes Jane Austen's household and family-of-origin before Jane's life-history is chronologically discussed.

3.4.1. Before Jane: Household and family-of-origin background

Both of Jane Austen's parents were from well-respected families, and part of the landed gentry (Boyle, 2011). Jane's parents were well educated (Austen-Leigh, 1871), with her father, George Austen, becoming the rector and clergyman of the country church in Steventon and acting as a private tutor to several boys, including five of his own sons (Gay, 2006). In addition, George also held the living of Deane, the neighbouring parish, and his uncle paid for his education at Tonbridge, supporting him while he was in Oxford (Boyle, 2004). Jane's father could, therefore, afford a house that was spacious enough for the whole household, including both Jane's parents, six of Jane's siblings, as well as some of her father's pupils and the household servants (Austen-Leigh, 1871). Jane's father, Reverend George, came from a well-

established family who was speculated to have been clothiers and inherited no property from his parents when they passed away when he was a little boy (Austen-Leigh, 1882). He later earned the title of “The Handsome Proctor of St. John’s College” (p. 10) and was known for his scholarly demeanour and calmness while his uncle assisted him in gaining an education (Austen-Leigh, 1882; Boyle, 2011, par. 1). Jane’s mother was known for her imagination, wit, and practicality (Ard, 2013; Austen-Leigh, 1882; Southam, 2001). Apparently, Jane’s mother, Cassandra Leigh Austen, could recite poetry upon request and tell stories spontaneously, well into her old age (Southam, 2001). Reverend George Austen had been Oxford-educated, including the men on Cassandra’s side of the family (Wood, 1973).

Reverend George Austen (1731-1805) and Mrs. Cassandra Austen (1739-1827) were married on 26 April 1764 in the St. Swithin’s Church (Boyle, 2011; Le Faye, 1997, 2011). One year later, on 13 February 1765, their firstborn child, James Austen, was born at Deane in Hampshire (Le Faye, 2004, 2011). At the time, the newlywed couple was staying at Deane while the Steventon Rectory was being renovated (Ard, 2013). It is interesting to note that during this time, Reverend George Austen had chosen to rent Deane parsonage instead of having his new wife stay at their narrow-roomed Steventon property (Nokes, 1997). However, they soon moved into Steventon in Hampshire, after severe flooding, where George became the parish's rector because of his connection with his cousin, Thomas Knight of Godmersham Park (Boyle, 2011; Nokes, 1997). As the firstborn, James Austen remained the heir to Reverend George Austen’s estate and Mrs. Austen’s favourite (Souter, 2004). He also later followed in his father’s footsteps by studying at Oxford from age 14 to become a clergyman (Boyle, 2011; Souter, 2004).

However, George, Jane’s second oldest brother (born on 26 August 1766), is notably missing in several family records and memoirs (which explains the frequently distorted and misrepresented familial accounts claiming that Jane only had six siblings) (Ard, 2013) because

George was speculated to have suffered from learning difficulties and epilepsy, possibly cerebral palsy (Ard, 2013; McAdam, 2015). George had been born with an intellectual disability and was sent to live on a farm in Monk Sherborne when he was about six years old (Ard, 2013). No evidence exists that the family ever visited him, other than a later allusion that Jane possibly knew some sign language as a result of visiting her brother (Ard, 2013; Nokes, 1997). Although his parents had placed George with a custodian family, it should be noted that paid custodial care was common during this time in England's history (Ard, 2013), as accidental deaths by, for example, drowning was common (Tomalin, 1999). Furthermore, George's maternal uncle, Thomas, lived with the Culham family's care for a similar condition (McAdam, 2015). Interestingly, George was never mentioned in any of Jane's letters and it was left to their brother, Edward (later Knight), to maintain George after their father passed away, as George junior was not a beneficiary in Reverend Austen's will (Le Faye, 2004; Woolsey, 2019). Years later, when George was buried in 1838 in a nameless grave, not one of the Austen family members were recorded to attend his funeral (McAdam, 2015); he had been purposefully forgotten and essentially erased from the family record for centuries to come (Ard, 2013; Woolsey, 2009).

Ard (2013) argued that even though several authors gave Reverend George and Mrs. Cassandra Austen the benefit of the doubt regarding their care-taking decisions, other options were available. Besides "enduring legal confinement in prisons or workhouses" (par. 2), personal home care was an option for individuals, such as with Eliza de Feuillide's son (McAdam, 2015). Subsequently, Austen's parents valued intelligence and social class at the expense of their own children (Ard, 2013). Generally, it seems that the Austen family was trying to maintain or even improve their family's class standing with George's attempted erasure (Ard, 2013; Tomalin, 1999). Not only did they have a standing to maintain, but they could afford to pay the guardian of their son until Reverend George's death (McAdam, 2015).

Prominent families of the Regency period commonly sent children who had disabilities to expensive private asylums where increased anonymity was promised at great profits due to the potential harms to the familial reputation and social standing if the indiscretions of connection were committed (Ard, 2013; McAdam, 2015).

However, the Austens had six other children who competed for resources and parental affection in the Steventon household (Souter, 2004). Barely a year after George's birth, in 1767, the Austen's third son, Edward, was born (Boyle, 2011), followed by the birth of the witty and enthusiastic Henry Thomas Austen in 1771 (Boyle, 2011; Le Faye, 2011). In 1773, Cassandra and George Austen had their first daughter (Boyle, 2011). Due to needing some extra financial support, Reverend George decided to lodge some boarders at Steventon Rectory and to prepare these boys for their university educations by teaching them the classics (Le Faye, 1989, 1997, 2004). In 1764, Reverend George took his first boarder, and again in 1773 (Le Faye, 2004; Souter, 2004). He boarded boys of some influential families, including the son of the Earl of Portsmouth (Le Faye, 2004). Their sixth child and fifth son, Francis William Austen, was born in April 1774 (Le Faye, 2004; Souter, 2004). However, it was not long before Mrs. Cassandra was expecting again (Austen-Leigh, 1971, 1882; Garlen, 2012; Kelly, 2017; Le Faye, 2004).

3.4.2. Steventon (1775-1787)

On 16 December 1775, Jane Austen was born in Steventon, Hamshire, in England (Adkins& Adkins, 2013; Austen-Leigh, 1882; Garlen, 2012; Kelly, 2017; Le Faye, 2004; Walker, 2005; White, 2006). Although there were no birth complications, Jane's birth came "without a great deal of warning," according to Jane's father (Le Faye, 2004, p. 27). According to Le Faye (2004), Mrs. Cassandra considered Jane's birth to be delightful as Jane was "a pleasant little plaything for her sister Cassy and a future companion" (p. 27). Jane was the second daughter

and seventh child of George and Cassandra's eight children (Ard, 2013; Galen, 2012; Le Faye, 1997; Souter, 2004). Due to the inordinately cold winter of 1775 and 1776, Jane's mother and father held a private baptism the next day and could only publicly baptise Jane in the Steventon church on 5 April 1776 (Le Faye, 2004). However, Jane did not stay with her mother and father for a long time before being sent away from Steventon (Le Faye, 2004).

According to Walker (2005), Reverend George (Jane's father) and Cassandra Leigh Austen (Jane's mother) sent all their children, including Jane, to nurses in the village, "from the time their babies were weaned, at about three months, until about the age of two" (p. 1). However, by the time Jane was able to talk, Mrs. Austen considered her "a very entertaining companion" (Le Faye, 2004, p. 27). This is supported by a more reliable family record, in which the authors stated that it was not an unusual practice to send children off to nursing cottages in the village (Terry, 2020). Most of Reverend and Mrs. Austen's children would only return to their parents' care when they were about one and a half (Ard, 2013).

Jane would return when she had achieved her basic infancy and early childhood milestones, such as walking, talking and being sufficiently weaned from having to wear diapers (Walker, 2005). Although this practice might now seem odd, James Edward Austen-Leigh (1871), Jane's nephew, later wrote that Jane's parents visited them regularly. Other family records supported this by stating that the children's parents would visit daily and that the infants would often be brought to the parsonage where the Austens stayed (Le Faye, 2004). Jane and her seven siblings were all fostered by Elizabeth and John Littleworth at Cheesedown Farm during their first two years (Le Faye, 2004). By the time Jane was about three and a half, she had developed a "twin-like closeness with her sister" and took "intense vicarious pleasure in her two youngest brothers' naval careers" (Souter, 2004, p. 179). Jane and Cassandra, as the two girls in a household filled with boys, became inseparable and intimate companions (Le Faye, 2004, 2011).

In May 1779, a wealthy distant relative of Reverend Austen, Thomas Knight II, visited to introduce his new wife, Catherine, to the Austen household after their wedding (Grover, 2013; Le Faye, 2004). Mr. Knight and his wife felt so mesmerised by Edward Austen's beauty and company that they asked him to accompany them on their wedding tour of their newly inherited estates (Le Faye, 2004). It was customary for rich newlywed couples to tour Britain with family, friends, or servants, as honeymoons did not exist (Adkins & Adkins, 2013). Although the couple did not intend to adopt Edward initially, they remembered him and frequently requested his company (Le Faye, 2004). Reverend Austen was sceptical, presumably due to his concern for Edward's "probable falling behind in the Latin Grammar" (p. 43). However, they allowed him to spend the holiday with the Knight family (Le Faye, 2004).

On 23 June 1779, Jane's younger brother, Mrs. and Rev. Austen's eighth and last child, was born (Le Faye, 2004, 2014). Jane and Cassandra especially enjoyed playing with the new baby, Charles John Austen (Le Faye, 2004). Not even a month later, on 3 July 1779, their eldest brother, James, matriculated from Saint John's college and entered Oxford University due to his mother's side of the family being eligible for Founders Kin Entry (Le Faye, 2004). Two of Jane's brothers, Francis and Charles, both later became sailors who rose to the rank of Admiral during their lives (Austen-Leigh, 1882).

Jane's elder brothers, James and Henry, who were both studying at Oxford, brought plays and interest in theatre to the Austen household (Gay, 2006; Southam, 2001). It has been said that many home theatricals were produced between 1782 and 1790 in the Steventon Rectory, and evidence exists that Jane Austen had access to a wide range of classic and contemporary plays that she could read (Gay, 2006; Le Faye, 2004). Some evidence also exists that Austen had been incorporating and reproducing elements from these plays from an early age in her writing experiments (Gay, 2006).

Jane's older siblings often organised the amateur performances of bombastic and sentimental tragedies in their Steventon home between 1782 and 1789 (Gay, 2006). For example, they performed the long, historical-sensational drama by Dr. Thomas Franklin, Matilda (1775), in December 1782, after James (now 18) had matriculated and returned from St Johns College at Oxford (Gay, 2006; Le Faye, 2004, 2011). James added a prologue and epilogue in versified form, which Edward Austen and Tom Fowle respectively performed (Le Faye, 2004). Cassandra may have had a small role to play, according to family records, but Jane was likely too young to partake in any role other than spectator (Gay, 2006; Le Faye, 2004). The Austen's often performed their amateur productions in either their father's dining room or the barn across the road (Byrne, 2014; Le Faye, 2002, 2004). Even though Jane and her younger brother, Charles, were too young to take part in the plays, they had a ride in a chaise, and she was mentioned in family letters for the first time as a result of their enjoyment (Le Faye, 2011). According to Le Faye (2004), Jane was "independent enough to scamper away unescorted" by the summer of 1782 (p. 46). As the family was preparing to educate their daughters, James took Jane and Cassandra on an enthusiastic tour of Oxford's chapels, libraries, and halls in the Spring of 1783 (C. Austen, 1867; Le Faye, 2004). He also graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree in the same year (Austen-Leigh, 1882, 1887; Le Faye, 2004). Both Jane and Cassandra would soon be sent to Mrs. Cawley's school in Oxford with their cousin (Le Faye, 2004). Some biographers questioned Austen-Leigh's (1871) assertion that Jane's childhood was pleasant in their cheerful home. Walker (2005), for example, estimated that by 1783, 13 to 20 people lived at the Steventon Rectory.

Jane and Cassandra were sent away for their schooling, even though their father was preparing other boys for university (Le Faye, 1997, 2002; Walker, 2005). According to Walker (2005), Reverend Austen not only taught and lodged these boys but even employed a music master and teachers such as John Claude Nattes, who was extremely skilled in drawing and

painting. It is, however, uncertain to what extent Jane might have gained some of her foundational career skills from these men (Le Faye, 2004).

Thus, some biographers questioned the Austen family's tolerance for the girls' shocking educational circumstances at Mrs. Cawley's facilities (Walker, 2005). In 1784, the Steventon Rectory was more crowded than ever before, and space needed to be made to relieve the crowded halls (Walker, 2005). Cassandra and Jane were sent off to a school, and their brother, Edward, was adopted by the Knight family in 1783 (Grover, 2013; Kimber, 2020; Walker, 2005). They decided to adopt him due to their difficulty with having children of their own; he later became the sole heir of Mr. Knight's many estates (Grover, 2013).

When Jane was seven, she and her sister, Cassandra, were sent to live with a relative who was a private tutor in Oxford (Nokes, 1997; Walker, 2005). From 1783, Jane and Cassandra received tutorage from Ann Cawley, her uncle's widowed sister (Walker, 2005). Reverend Edward Cooper and his wife, Mrs. Jane Cooper, sent their daughter Jane Cooper, who was four years older than Jane Austen, to the same Oxford school (Le Faye, 1989; Walker, 2005). Mrs. Cawley moved her school closer to the ports in Southampton later in 1783, where sailors who had diseases often spent time (Le Faye, 2004; Walker, 2005). The town had frequently been used for military purposes due to various wars such as the French wars and the American War of Independence (Kelly, 2017; Le Faye, 2004). However, in August 1783, some troops returned from Gibraltar, bringing typhus fever to the port (Le Faye, 2004, 2006).

As a result, Casandra, Jane, and their cousin, Jane Cooper, fell ill with typhus fever and Jane Austen nearly passed away (Socratica, 2014; Walker, 2005). Jane Austen had seemingly been very sick; it took her about a year to recuperate and recover from the illness between the ages of 7 and 8 (Walker, 2005). However, Mrs. Cawley failed to notify the girls' parents of their illnesses, and had it not been for the older Jane Cooper sending for help, the three girls might

have died (Le Faye, 2004; Walker, 2005). It has been suggested that due to the girls' mothers rescuing their daughters, Jane Cooper's mother passed away from this fever (Walker, 2005). Despite Mrs. Austen's fears for sending young Jane back to school after her year-long recovery, Jane stubbornly wanted to follow her sister, Cassandra, wherever she went (Walker, 2005). According to Jane Austen's niece, Anna Austen Lefroy (1864), Jane's mother said that Jane did everything her sister did: "if Cassandra's head had been going to cut off, Jane would have hers cut off too" (p. 160).

In 1785, Cassandra and Jane (then 10 years old) went to a boarding school in Reading (The Abbey School for Girls), where they learned to read, spell and write; the girls studied music, the pianoforte, drawing, fine needlework, as well as French, history, geography, and basic arithmetic (Le Faye, 2004; Walker, 2005). The headmistress, Sarah Hackitt (aka Mrs. La Tournelle) at the Abbey School for Girls, was mysterious, middle-aged, never changed her fashion, and walked around with a cork leg (History Bombs, 2017; Le Faye, 2004; Walker, 2005). According to Hegele (2011), English governesses were often given French credentials in boarding schools, as "being French permitted more opportunities for employment" (p. 336). Being a former French teacher, Mrs. Hackitt adopted a French persona, namely Mrs. La Tournelle (Hegele, 2011). Even though Mrs. La Tournelle could not speak French, she favoured the teaching of plays and play-acting (Hegele, 2011; Le Faye 2004). Mrs. La Tournelle was a theatre enthusiast who fervously incorporated the teaching of plays into the schoolgirls' education (Gay, 2006). It has been speculated that Jane Austen might have developed an antipathy for schoolmistresses due to her dislike of Mrs. La Tournelle (Hegele, 2011).

Despite this, Jane Austen's accomplishments and foundational career skills were learned at the prestigious Abbey School for Girls (Le Faye, 2004), more specifically, due to the two other teachers that Mrs. La Tournelle and Miss Pitts had employed, and the well-resourced and

reputable education the school provided (Le Faye, 1989, 2004). It seems that Jane's affinity for playwriting and play-acting was encouraged at the Abbey School for Girls. Jane and Cassandra appeared to be very happy here, as they could work hard during their tutorials, but also spent the rest of their day conversing with their friends in either the garden or the house when it suited them (Le Faye, 2004).

Three parodic playlets are found in Austen's Juvenilia, which Gay (2006) found convened to the conventions of drama of the time. These playlets all parodied society drama of the time and satirised other important works, such as the comic opera (i.e., the burlettas) (Gay, 2006). Jane also referred to the theatre and contemporary plays in her Juvenilia and her later writings (Gay, 2006). However, Southam (2001) argued that Jane was not extremely inventive or imaginative as a child, and she preferred to imbue her observed life with meaning, reflection, and judgement through her writing. Furthermore, Jane frequently wrote from her direct experiences and often included the "general activities of the family" in her works (Southam, 2001, p. 7). Regardless, Jane experimented widely with her writings during her adolescence (Toner, 2020).

In spite of Reverend Austen often being in debt, he paid for the girls' education through the lodging money he received from the boys he had been housing and teaching (Walker, 2005). Reverend Austen paid school fees and lodging of £35 per girl, per term, to the Abbey School for Girls, for his daughters' education (Le Faye, 2004; Walker, 2005). In addition, George or Henry Deane, John Warren, William Fowle, and C. Fowle had all been under Reverend Austen's tutorage since at least 1783 (Deane and W. Fowle at least since a year or two prior to this) (Walker, 2005). However, after only 11 months of this newfound excursion to the Abbey School for Girls, Jane and Cassandra returned home to their parents (Walker, 2005). In December 1786, near Jane Austen's 11th birthday, the girls were forced to withdraw from the school due to a lack of sufficient funds, and they returned to Steventon (Le Faye, 2004).

According to Walker (2005), it is ironic that Reverend Austen paid for his daughter's educations while being a tutor himself. However, moving back into Steventon meant that Jane's education was left in her own hands, as she was mostly educated from home (Garlen, 2012; Le Faye, 2004). Most women were home-educated during these times (Garlen, 2012), although Jane favoured education beyond the classroom and believed that self-knowledge was a life-long process (Corley, 1998).

Fortunately, Jane was an avid reader, and her family had amassed an extensive library for their economic position (Adkins & Adkins, 2013; Garlen, 2012; Pliscou, 2018; Walker, 2005). Reverend Austen, being a well-read man (Southam, 2001), had collected various books on a wide variety of subjects (Walker, 2005). Although it is unknown whether Reverend Austen wrote, it is well documented that he was liberally educated (Southam, 2001). Jane Austen particularly enjoyed reading the novels of Samuel Richardson, Sir Walter Scott, and Frances Burney (Garlen, 2012). Jane's brothers, James, Charles, and Henry, frequently wrote poetry and essays; however, Jane considered her sister, Cassandra, as the "finest comic writer of the present age" (Austen in Le Faye, 2011, p. 5). Despite this, Jane's father and her older brothers encouraged Jane to write, and she had an eager audience (Southam, 2001; Steeves, 2020; Walker, 2005). From about the time Jane was 11 or 12 to the age of 17, Jane experimented with short stories, poems, and other literary writings, which were later collected in her three-volume Juvenilia (Sutherland, 2018). These imaginative and juvenile writings proved to be extremely important for the professionalisation of Austen's later writings (Gay, 2006; Southam, 2001).

3.4.3. Juvenilia: Adolescence (1787-1793)

Jane's home-life at the Steventon rectory was intellectually stimulating, and conversations with her large family filled with humour and playful, yet astute remarks (Austen-Leigh, 1882;

Southam, 2001). Jane not only enjoyed reading to herself and her family but was encouraged to read widely by her father and her brothers (C. Austen, 1867; Austen-Leigh, 1871, 1887; Southam, 2001). For example, Southam (2001) highlighted that "at Steventon, literature was an exciting and amusing activity, to be shared with the whole family" (p. 8). Jane had been acquainted with various authors and playwrights (Gay, 2006; Le Faye, 1989, 2002; Southam, 2001).

However, Gay (2005) stated that the family's previous theatrical performances of tragedies might not have provided sufficient entertainment for the Austen family, despite it being fashionable to perform such amateur productions at the time (Le Faye, 2004). As a result, the Austens later transitioned into performing amateur comical theatre productions of 18th-century comic theatre, such as Sheridan's *The Rivals* in 1784 and Susannah Centlivre's inflated *The Wonder! A Woman Keeps a Secret* (1714) in 1787 (Gay, 2006). Jane Austen's cousin, Eliza de Feuillide, was cast as the leading lady in the Austens' production of *The Wonder! A Woman Keeps a Secret* (1714)[4] (Gay, 2006).

The family theatricals that Eliza (Jane's French aristocratic cousin) arranged seem to have made a lasting impression on Jane (Le Faye, 1979; Southam, 2001). Jane and the rest of the cast of the amateur productions converted her father's barn into a small theatre to perform in during the hot summer months (Southam, 2001). Mr. Austen's barn was transformed into a theatrical playground, and all the children were encouraged to take part in the theatricals (Gay, 2006). Over the Christmas period, they performed plays in the main house (Southam, 2001).

[4] It should be noted that the amateur production of *The Wonder! A Woman Keeps a Secret* (1714), one of the most popular plays in the eighteenth-century (O'Brien, 2004), would have required a large cast of 10 males, 4 females and some extras (or at least some variation of these characters), which would have probably required some amateur actors from outside of the Austen family to be part of the production (Gay, 2006). During the Christmas season of 1787, Eliza organised the family theatricals at Steventon during their family visits, which Jane enjoyed much (Southam, 2001). This would be especially important to the 12-year-old Jane, who wrote about a similar situation in Mansfield Park with great excitement years later (Gay, 2006).

Whenever more modest evenings were called for, the Austen family performed rhyming charades or read aloud to one another (Southam, 2001). It is well-known that Jane Austen frequently wrote some of her more playful satires and parodies for the expressed and intimate ears of her amused family, and, therefore, some of the referential humour found in her works during this time were so deeply engrossed in shared trifles that one cannot fathom what is parodied (Southam, 2001). In 1788, Henry Austen started studying at Oxford University (Boyle, 2011), the same year in which the French Revolution started, and Britain was at war (Kelly, 2017). Therefore, censorship was peaking, and frequent changes were occurring in the historical landscape (Kelly, 2017).

During this time, Jane Austen wrote more than 90000 words, mainly poems and short stories, including satirical parodies of popular fiction romantic novels (Galen, 2012; Southam, 2001). One such, possibly projective, short story, *Henry and Eliza* (circa 1787 – 1790), was dedicated in memory of Mrs. Jane Cooper, who died in 1783, as a direct consequence of saving her daughter from the school (Walker, 2005). By the age of 14, Jane Austen could utilise conventional writing techniques and distinguish her target audience for the stories and books she wrote, adapting them appropriately (Mudrick, 2018).

Many scholars have commented on the semi-autobiographical content of Jane's earlier writings (e.g., Gay, 2006; Le Faye, 1979). Some biographers even speculated that Jane wrote parodic recounts of events that happened in Steventon Rectory (Southam, 2001). In addition, many of Jane's early characters were dedicated to, based on, and influenced by her family members, such as her Hancock relatives – including Eliza (mentioned earlier), and her settings were often influenced by her immediate environments (Le Faye, 1979; Southam, 2001). Love and Friendship (1790), for example, was dedicated to Eliza during one of their family visits (Le Faye, 1979). Other examples include Cassandra Austen, Jane Cooper, Mary Lloyd, Francis, Charles, James, Edward, and Henry Austen (Sabor, 2009). The Hancocks and the Austens

frequently visited one another, and Jane kept close correspondence with her aunt, Mrs. Hancock, until her death in 1792 (Le Faye, 1979, 2002). It seems clear that the cousins frequently visited and wrote to one another (Austen-Leigh, 1871; Le Faye, 1979, 2004).

When Jane was about 15, she filled out mock marriage banns entries on the specimen page of the Steventon church marriage register (Le Faye, 1989, 2002, 2004). She decided, after a few ridiculous attempts of fantasising on a plain, though mythical husband of "Jack Smith" and called herself "Jane Smith late Austen" (Le Faye, 2004, p. 70). Therefore, it could be speculated that Jane was seeking love and friendship in real life. Jane wrote various plays, poems, and short novels during this time (Galen, 2012; Nokes, 1997). One such short novel is the short epistolary novel, Love and Friendship (sic), told through a series of letters (Le Faye, 2004). Jane often experimented with form and newly discovered literary devices (Southam, 2001).

A few weeks before her sixteenth birthday, Jane wrote *The History of England* (1791), a witty retelling of some famous persons and events that influenced the English (Johnston, 2010). Jane's sister, Cassandra, illustrated 13 medallion portraits in watercolour for this book (Sutherland, 2014). This text was ironically based on the four-volume *History of England from the Earliest Times to the Death of George II* (1771) by Goldsmith, which was regularly used by the Austen family and had been commented on by Austen in its margins (Johnston, 2010). *The History of England* (1791) was an abridged and highly partisan historiographic work that stood in conflict with the methods of historiography of the time (Johnston, 2010). Referring to herself as "a partial, prejudiced and ignorant Historian" (p. 67), young Jane Austen (1791/2013) showed an awareness of the conventional practices of anthology writers, as she referred her readers to Shakespeare's historical plays as a historical source (e.g., when she refers her readers, perhaps ironically, to a speech made by *Henry IV* as a credible source) (Austen, 1791; Johnston, 2010). According to Johnston (2010), this may have shown young Jane Austen's awareness of Hume and Robertson's anthologies of history or an awareness of "Shakespeare's

dependence on chronicles" of history (p. 107). Johnston (2010) argued that Jane Austen's spoof, *The History of England* (1791)[5], mimicked many history anthologies that would "be read aloud in family circles" (p. 107).

Furthermore, there is evidence that Austen enjoyed reading history, despite having protestations against having to study it by rote as common practice would have it in this era (Johnston, 2010). For example, she read Captain Pasley's Essay on the Military Policy and Institutions of the British Empire in 1813, even though it was not necessary for her to do so (Johnston, 2010). In addition, it would have been common practice for girls to have had to "digest and regurgitate portions" of Goldsmith's History of England from the Earliest Times to the Death of George II (1771) and other important historical works (Johnston, 2010, p. 109).

Family members, including Jane's young niece, Anna Lefroy, also performed in progressively more private theatricals that Jane had written to entertain her family (Gay, 2006; Southam, 2001). One such short five-act play, *Sir Charles Grandison*, was based on the enormous novel, *The History of Sir Charles Grandison* (1753-1754) (Garlen, 2012). The adaptation was considered comical due to Jane's reduction and abridgement of this family favourite novel (Gay 2006; Southam, 2001). This novel was also a popular courtship novel that appealed strongly to middle-class women due to its themes (Galen, 2012). Such courtship novels were often written during the first half of the 18th century, and it seems ironic that all of Jane Austen's major novels are categorised as courtship novels too (Garlen, 2012). However, Jane increasingly became critical of the sentimental novels of the time and wrote her own

[5] Southam (2001) alluded to the important relationship this work demonstrated in Jane's life – the relationship between Cassandra and Jane. Not only do many researchers of Jane Austen's life think that Cassandra was Jane's best friend, but many researchers also consider Cassandra to be Jane's intellectual equal, and their collaboration on the *History of England* (1971) proved it (Boyle, 2011; Southam, 2001). They continued to write letters to each other, solidifying that Cassandra and Jane were close confidants (Boyle, 2011; Le Faye, 2011).

parodic works in response to the often hypocritical or melodramatic turns these novels took (Southam, 2001).

Between January 1789 and March 1790, Jane's brothers, Henry and James, edited a periodical, The Loiterer, at St. John's College, Oxford University (Austen-Leigh, 1871, 1882; Souter, 2011). During these years, the periodicals satirically cautioned against excess and Johnsonian prose, often mocking the sensibility prose of the time with burlesque writings (Southam, 2001). Jane most probably was familiar with at least their opinions as she embarked on the next stage of her writing life (Le Faye, 1989; Southam, 2001). She was directed in her readings and tastes by James (Austen-Leigh, 1882). Later, Jane followed a family tradition by attacking sentimental fiction with burlesque writing (Souter, 2011; Southam, 2001). Jane probably heard heated debates about sentimental fiction frequently during this time and demonstrated an increasing concern around writing and portraying domestic themes as realistically as possible (Southam, 2001). Edward became the first of the Austen sons to marry in 1791, and Jane dedicated the burlesqued *The Three Sisters* short story to him (Le Faye, 2004). Jane, however, did not meet a love interest until years to come, but she enjoyed visiting her friends in Ibthorpe (Boyle, 2011; Le Faye, 2004). Jane's family also acquired a small piano for her use in 1790 which she could practice on (Brooks, 2019a).

3.4.4. Novels (1795-1799)

Jane wrote many of the earlier versions of her novels during her early adulthood (Garlen, 2012). She started writing Eleanor and Marianne in 1795 (later published as *Sense and Sensibility*) and First Impressions in 1796 (it later became known as *Pride and Prejudice*) (Garlen, 2012; White, 2006). Cassandra indicated that the novel Lady Susan, which would later become *Northanger Abbey* (1817), had been written between 1797 and 1798 (Blair, 2000). However,

some researchers have estimated that the novel was only completed in 1799 (Garlen, 2012). It is also well known that early versions of her novels would have been read aloud as a source of family entertainment (Gay, 2006). Jane's father took the original manuscript for Pride and Prejudice to Cadell publisher in 1797, who refused to take the publication seriously (Kelly, 2017). Jane then began receiving invitations to balls held in the greater Hampshire area, where many residents would attend (History Bombs, 2017). Jane enjoyed attending parties and joining society during this time (Socratica, 2014). It should be noted that balls during this time were the primary places the middle and upper classes could meet their potential significant others (Adkins & Adkins, 2013).

Jane started to show an interest in courting over the next few months. Three of Jane's letters to her sister Cassandra mentioned Tom Lefroy, the brother of a friend of Austen (Le Faye, 2011). Jane was writing the early draft of Pride and Prejudice at this time, and it is speculated that she may have based the character of Mr. Darcy on Mr. Lefroy. It is widely documented that Lefroy and Austen had engaged in flirting from 1795 to 1796, and she mentioned him at least twice in letters she wrote during this time (Huff, 2020; Le Faye, 2004). It was between Christmas Day and New Year's Eve of 1795 that Jane Austen became acquainted with Thomas Lefroy, an aspiring, 20-year-old Irish law student who was visiting his aunt in Ashe, Hampshire (Huff, 2020; Le Faye, 2004). He took a break from his legal studies at Lincoln's Inn in London over the Christmas period (Huff, 2020). By this time, they had attended three balls together before Austen wrote to her engaged sister, who was visiting her fiancé's family (Huff, 2020).

On Saturday, 9 January 1796, Austen (in Le Faye, 2011) wrote to Cassandra:

> …I am almost afraid to tell you how my Irish friend and I behaved. Imagine to yourself everything most profligate and shocking in the way of dancing and sitting down together. I can expose myself, however, only once more, because he leaves the country soon after next

> Friday, on which day we are to have a dance at Ashe after all. He is a very gentlemanlike, good-looking, pleasant young man, I assure you. But as to our having ever met, except at the three last balls, I cannot say much; for he is so excessively laughed at about me at Ashe, that he is ashamed of coming to Steventon, and ran away when we called on Mrs. Lefroy a few days ago…After I had written the above, we received a visit from Mr. Tom Lefroy and his cousin George. The latter is really very well-behaved now; and as for the other, he has but one fault, which time will, I trust, entirely remove — it is that his morning coat is a great deal too light. He is a very great admirer of Tom Jones and therefore wears the same coloured clothes, I imagine, which he did when he was wounded. (p. 2)

Austen attributed Tom's reluctance to offer courtship or engagement on social pressures that influenced their situation immensely, as Tom was laughed at so excessively at Ashe that he could not visit her in Steventon. Still, she wrote light-heartedly and satirically about the situation at the time. Ray (2007) highlighted that not only does Jane's letter imply minimal contact between the two parties, but Tom's uncomfortable demeanour and fleeing might be due to Jane's clear attachment. By this time, the studious and pious Tom had realised that Jane had formed an attachment to him, despite him having formed an earlier attachment to a Mary Paul, back at his law college (Ray, 2007). According to Ray (2007), Jane's twin-like sister, Cassandra, had been engaged by this time, and Jane might have felt social pressure to either imagine a mutual attachment or to confabulate one. Regardless, upon his aunt's advice, Madam Lefroy, Tom, and George visited the Austens to apologise for his previous behaviour (Ray, 2007). Only five days later, in a letter dated Thursday, 14 January 1796, Jane (in Le Faye, 2011) mentioned Tom to her sister again:

> I look forward with great impatience to [the upcoming party], as I rather expect to receive an offer from my friend in the course of the evening. I shall refuse him, however, unless he promises to give away his white Coat … as I mean to confine myself in future to Mr. Tom

> Lefroy … At length, the day has come on which I am to flirt my last with Tom Lefroy, and when you receive this, it will be over - My tears flow as I write at the melancholy idea. (p. 4)

Evidently, Tom's return to Lincoln's Inn upset Jane, and the letter illustrated that Jane had set a reasonable social expectation to receive an offer. However, Tom returned to study law shortly thereafter; his grand-uncle, Benjamin Langlois, sponsored him (Huff, 2020; Ray, 2007), and no evidence has been found that he had intended to do so (Ray, 2007). Ray (2007) highlighted that her expectation of a possible marriage offer could make more sense if the offer she referred to in the letter referred to an offer of dancing instead. However, Madam Lefroy, a close mentor of Jane and Tom's aunt, wrote to Jane that Tom behaved in bad taste (Le Faye, 2002). Later, on 23 August 1796, Jane, Edward, and Frank Austen visited the home of Benjamin Langlois, Tom's uncle, in Cork Street due to a paternal friend in Hampshire while they were on their way to Edward's Godmersham estate (Ray, 2007). However, Huff (2020) stated that there exists no evidence that Jane and Tom met during their stay or that Tom had been in London at the time. Only one other letter of Austen's correspondence ever mentions Tom Lefroy again in November 1798 (Le Faye, 2011). In the letter to her sister, the shamed Austen (in Le Faye, 2011) wrote that Tom's aunt, Madam Lefroy, visited, but had not said anything about her nephew.

It has been speculated that the two of them were deeply moved by one another, but Lefroy's family did not approve of the match, as Jane's family were not rich enough (History Bombs, 2017). Others have speculated that there were two one-sided relationships: Austen's misreading of Tom's intentions and Tom being overly ambitious and devoted to both his career and his college friend's sister (Ray, 2007). However, no concrete evidence is documented about the affair other than the three surviving letters and what is available tends to be conspiratorial speculation. It is, however, interesting to draw parallels between these series of events and

those of both *Sense and Sensibility* (1811) and *Pride and Prejudice* (1813), which she had written during these years. Although the facts remain elusive, it is known that Tom Lefroy had become engaged to Mary Paul in 1797, visited his aunt in Hampshire, and did not attempt to contact or visit Jane at the time (Huff, 2020). Cassandra's fiancé, Tom Fowle, died from yellow fever in the West Indies (Caribbean) in February 1797, and she never married (Boyle, 2011; Huff, 2020). Henry Austen married Eliza de Feuillide, whose first husband was beheaded in Paris (Huff, 2020). Madam Lefroy visited during the Christmas season of 1797, as which she wanted to introduce a 27-year-old Reverend Samuel Blackhall to Jane Austen as a potential match (Ray, 2007).

Austen started writing *Northanger Abbey* (1818), a parody of the courtship plots in Gothic novels, in 1798 (Garlen, 2012).[6] By this time, Jane had written much but never ventured into writing about unfamiliar fields to her (Austen-Leigh, 1882; Steeves, 2020). For example, Austen-Leigh (1882) stated that while Charles and Francis, Jane's youngest brothers, were at sea in the Royal Navy, she captured their experiences with factual accuracy regarding the naval environment. However, she never delved into medicine, law or politics, as would have been common for Gothic writers at the time (Austen-Leigh, 1882; Le Faye, 2006).

3.4.5. Bath (1800-1805)

Novels had a bad reputation by the late 1700s (Steeves, 2020). However, in contrast to the earlier Gothic novels, novels from the 1750s were increasingly relying on narrative realism and

[6] Where Gothic novels often had romance, historical fiction and horror elements embedded into its plots, Austen's novel centred around Catherine Morland's struggle between maturing and preparing for married life after being caught up in novels and "girlish fantasy" (Garlen, 2012, p. xi). At the time of writing Northanger Abbey (1818), Gothic novels were often sold and the humour in the novel would have been clear to readers of the time (Garlen, 2012). For instance, two such novels, *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794) and *The Italian* (1797), are mentioned ironically by characters in the novel (Adkins & Adkins, 2013; Garlen, 2012). According to Garlen (2012), the key lesson or virtue to be learnt from *Northanger Abbey* (1812) was that one could enjoy reading novels, but one should not "shape one's perception of reality" around these novels (p. xi).

authenticating literary devices from historiographic works, such as the use of precise dates and actual places, including what Johnston (2010) referred to as "pseudo-editorial prefaces; the use of documentary evidence; and … footnotes" (p. 110). This created tension among historians for the first time, as female novelists started to subvert the traditional historiographic techniques to represent domestic themes, which were typically not represented in the realms of legitimised history from the 18th century (Johnston, 2010).

Jane visited Martha Lloyd in November 1800, where it was cold and wet, and Jane and Martha were confined mostly indoors due to the mud (Boyle, 2011). However, Jane enjoyed a pleasant time before returning to Steventon with great shock (Le Faye, 1997; Nokes, 1997). It is a family legend that upon hearing the news that the family was moving to Bath, because of her father's decision to leave the ministry, Jane fainted from the shock (Boyle, 2011). Jane's father decided to retire from his position in the church as rector and move to the resort town, Bath, in 1801 (Galen, 2012); Jane and her family followed. However, James, the eldest son, enjoyed the privilege of staying at the Steventon property, as he too had been trained in theology by this time (Boyle, 2011; Le Faye, 1989). However, Bath had not been as luxurious as it used to be, as the fashionable society that used to frequent it had all moved to Brighton because of the Prince Regent establishing a Royal Pavilion (Boyle, 2011). The Austen family rented 4 Sydney Place between 1801 and 1804, before staying in 3 Green Park Buildings East for a few months (Le Faye, 2002, 2011, 2014; Souter, 2001; Walker, 2005). The family had to reduce and temper their standard of living upon moving to Bath but could afford to keep one servant per family member (Walker, 2005). In addition, Jane's piano was also sold for a meager amount, which upset her greatly (Brooks, 2019). For this reason, Jane could not play piano while staying in their various residences between 1801 and 1804 (Brooks, 2019; Kilby, 2019; Spanswick, 2019; Walker, 2005). It has been speculated that whenever Jane did not have access to a pianoforte, her wellness declined (Brooks, 2019; Spanswick, 2019; Walker, 2005).

It has also been said that Austen rejected a proposal for marriage in 1802 (Garlen, 2012). According to Huff (2020), the suitor's name was Harris Bigg-Wither, a family friend's wealthy sibling. Jane had accepted the proposal during a visit to her friends one evening, but upon reflection over the evening, she decided to reject the proposal the following morning (Huff, 2020; Le Faye, 2004). Jane might have struggled to adjust to her new environment in Bath, as she became severely saddened during her time there, and did not enjoy the society they kept nor continued writing novels or letters as much as she used too (Socratica, 2014; Walker, 2005). According to Walker (2005), Jane fell silent during the period they lived in Bath, and only a handful of letters remain from this period. Regardless, the Austen family frequently enjoyed regular seaside vacations in Lyme Regis and Sidmouth, where Jane apparently "fell in love with a mysterious stranger" who died from unknown reasons before they could progress the relationship (Boyle, 2011, par. 12).

According to Austen, she completed the manuscript for *Northanger Abbey* by 1803, and sold it for the generous amount of £10 (see "Advertisement by the Authoress" in Austen, 1993; Blair, 2000; Kelly, 2017; Garlen, 2012). However, the publisher, Crosby & Co. decided not to print or distribute the novel for unknown reasons until 13 years later (Blair, 2000), leading Jane to experience enormous amounts of frustration, although she did not pursue the matter until later (see the following section). Henry Austen later bought the novel back from the publisher for Jane to rework it before its publication in 1818 (Garlen, 2012). It is speculated that Jane started working on her incomplete novel *The Watsons* in 1803 as well (Kelly, 2017).

During Jane's residence at Bath, she only wrote nine letters, of which most solely were about Reverend Austen's death (Gay, 2006). However, the highly fashionable and ever-developing Bath became the backdrop for many of the events in Austen's novels, despite its declining influence (Boyle, 2011; Nokes, 1997). According to Galen (2012), Jane Austen had an intense dislike for Bath, which is evident in her final novel, *Persuasion* (1818). Madam

Lefroy also passed away on Jane Austen's 29th birthday, and she continued to grieve for years to come (Ray, 2007).

3.4.6. Chawton (1805-1817)

Jane's father passed away on 21 January 1805 (Austen-Leigh, 1882; Boyle, 2011; Kelly, 2017; Galen, 2012), which significantly changed economic circumstances in the Austen household (Adkins & Adkins, 2013; Boyle, 2011). Her father's pension from the church rectorate ceased, and Jane became dependent on her brother, Edward Knight, for financial and domestic support (Galen, 2012). However, their mother received a £600 income from her sons collectively, even though their circumstances declined due to increased financial pressure from the Bath society becoming too expensive to enjoy (Boyle, 2011). This first prompted Jane, Cassandra, and their mother to move to Clifton, a spa town, with Martha Lloyd (Boyle, 2011). Cassandra nursed Martha Lloyd's mother until she died in Ibthorpe in April 1805 (Boyle, 2011). With Mrs. Lloyd's death, Jane, Cassandra, their mother, and Martha Lloyd moved to Southampton, with Francis Austen, in 1806 (Walker, 2005). By this time, Francis had become a Captain in the Royal Navy, leaving his wife for long periods while he was away (Boyle, 2011). Therefore, the arrangement had been comfortable, and all parties were satisfied[7].

The Abolition of the British Slave Trade took place in 1807, despite the years to come being marked with difficulties with the emancipation of slaves until the 1830s (White, 2006). Jane

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[7] Here, Jane enjoyed reading again. Austen read *An inquiry into the Duties of the Female Sex* (1805), which Cassandra gave her as a present (Le Faye, 2011). This book was aimed at teaching women from the upper classes about the essential differences between men and women, appropriate female education, suitable books for women to read, appropriate female leisure, choosing husbands and child-rearing (Grisborne, 1805). Although the oppressive undertones in such a text seems blatant prior to reading it, in contrast to other conduct books from the 18th century, such as *Sermons to Young Women* – which stressed submission and modesty – Grisborne's (1805) text praised women for their wit and vivacity. Grisborne's (1805) text reflected many of the views that Austen expressed in her novels, although she would most certainly not have agreed with all of them. For example, Grisborne (1805) believed that women should only read conduct books, such as Cowper (one of Austen's favourite poets) and warns women against reading novels or other materials that are inappropriate for women.

grew up in an environment filled with anti-slavery attitudes, and she took care to include her own anti-slave trade attitudes in her writings (White, 2006). Not only had one of her naval brothers been an abolitionist, but she, herself, subverted and undermined the overall pro-slavery attitudes of her readers (White, 2006). She had been known not to talk frequently about matters, such as politics, despite being well educated, informed, and conversant in naval matters, which included her brothers' experiences abroad due to their involvement and enforcement of abolition as well as her readings of anti-slavery campaigners' works (White, 2006). For example, in *Mansfield Park* (1814), Jane explicitly attempted to raise an opinion about the slave trade, when Fanny Price raised her climactic opinion about abolitionism (White, 2006).

In 1808, Jane Austen wrote a poem *To the memory of Mrs. Lefroy*, which shows that Jane had still been mourning her death, four years later (Ray, 2007). However, none of Jane's letters or other writings from early 1808 survived, as she and her sister were frequently travelling (Kelly, 2017; Le Faye, 2004). During April 1809, while at Chawton, Austen wrote a letter to the publishers at Crosby & Co. in which she offered to reimburse the publishers with a revised manuscript in case they had lost the previous one (Blair, 2000; Le Faye, 2011). However, the publisher (Le Faye, 2011; Woolsey, 2019) stated that the novel Susan "was not at any time stipulated for… publication, neither [were they] bound to publish it" (p. 183). She also wrote poems to her brothers abroad during their naval service (Le Faye, 2011).

Their brother, Edward, inherited the estate from the Knight family following a strenuous legal battle, evidently having to change his legal name to Knight (Grover, 2013). This lead Jane, Cassandra, Martha, and their mother to move into their famous cottage in Chawton, Hampshire, in 1809 (Grover, 2013). The family, now joined by Martha Lloyd, returned to their previous level of comfort, having enough income and life-quality to join frequent parties and visit friends and family without strain (Boyle, 2011). They were also able to afford two servants again; one for indoors and one for outdoors (Boyle, 2011; Le Faye, 1989, 2004, 2006). Notably,

Mrs. Austen could work in her garden, and the younger women in the household supervised their household chores (Boyle, 2011).

Jane began to write again; the next years would become the most productive years of Austen's life. She revised the manuscript for *Sense and Sensibility* and found a publisher to take it on. In 1811, the first edition of *Sense and Sensibility* (1811) was published, not under her own name, but under the ever-elusive and anonymous: "By a lady*"* (Nokes, 1997). This first edition sold out and earned Jane Austen a modest amount (Johnson & Tuite, 2020). According to some researchers, it allowed Austen to regain some financial stability at the age of 36 (Nokes, 1997; Steeves, 2020). However, the publication of *Sense and Sensibility* (1811) under the name of "By a lady" carried some consequence for Jane. Not only did close friends and family know about her, but certain expectations were set with that specific phrase for its potential readers. However, Jane wanted to remain anonymous[8].

Fergus (2010) argued that Jane Austen was a professional woman writer, contrary to previously held beliefs that she was a spinster who wrote amateur fiction for the purposes of leisure. In support of this claim, Fergus (2010) cited Austen's conscientious and meticulous detailing and auditing of her own income and sales to her brother, Frank. In a letter written to Frank on 3 July 1813, Jane illustrated this when she described the financial and copyright claims she had due to the success of *Sense and Sensibility* (1811), as well as her desire to produce more (Le Faye, 2011). Austen took the success of *Sense and Sensibility* (1811) and used her time to revise her preliminary manuscript for *Pride and Prejudice* (1813), which was published in 1813, the same year that Eliza de Feuillide passed away (Boyle, 2011; Socratica, 2014).

[8] Galen (2012) noted that female novelists during this period risked public censorship. This meant that the family's social mobility could directly be affected if her name were attributed to the stigmatised novel.

According to Le Faye (2004), there was also "a great frost", "heavy snowfalls" and "fog… dispersed by strong east winds" in December 1813, which forced Jane and her family to stay indoors and occupy themselves productively (p. 209). However, Jane did not seem to care much as she started writing her next novel, *Emma,* on 21 January 1814 (Le Faye, 2004). Although her family often thought that she was writing letters at her desk in the drawing room, she was determined to write an unlikeable heroine into existence (Le Faye, 2004). However, Jane was humble and did not boast about her writing, as James Edward Austen-Leigh (1882), her nephew, stated during one of their visits:

> She was careful that her occupation should not be suspected by servants, or visitors, or any persons beyond her family party. She wrote upon small sheets of paper, which could easily be put away or covered with a piece of blotting paper. There was, between the front door and the offices, a swing door which creaked when it was opened; but she objected to having this little inconvenience remedied because it gave her notice when anyone was coming … [T]here must have been many precious hours of silence during which the pen was busy at the little mahogany writing desk … (p. 102-103)

Jane was discreet while silently working on her novels at her desk, although she never showed signs of either annoyance or petulance towards any disturbances (Le Faye, 2004). Jane continued her successes by drafting and revising her manuscripts for *Mansfield Park* (1814) and *Emma* (1815). Her publisher offered her £450 for the rights to *Emma* (1815) but was concerned about her varying sales figures (History Bombs, 2017). *Emma* (1815) was advertised on 2 December 1815 and released in the last week of December (Le Faye, 2004).

However, Austen had to incongruously dedicate *Emma* (1815) to the Prince Regent in the foreword. Ironically, one of her most mature novels had to be dedicated to a person she despised; the Prince Regent's librarian, James Stanier Clarke, informally obliged her to

dedicate one of her future novels to the Prince Regent in November 1815 (Sabor, 2009). Although Jane protested, her family pressured her to consider the solicitation as a royal command, and Jane requested a pre-released, specially bound, and dedicated copy of Emma (1815) to the Prince Regent, despite her having to oblige and pay for the extra trouble herself (Sabor, 2009). The reason for the obliged dedication, despite her previous anonymity, was that Jane had been taking care of her brother, Henry, while he was sick at Hans Place (Austen-Leigh, 1882). One of the Prince Regent's physicians attended to his illness and soon discovered that Jane had been the author of *Pride and Prejudice* (1811).

According to Austen-Leigh (1882), Jane anxiously accepted the offer, dedicating *Emma* (1816) to the Prince Regent, who admired Austen's novels, read them regularly, and kept one in every library he owned in his multiple residences (Austen-Leigh, 1882). The prince and his librarian had been especially impressed with her treatment of *Mansfield Park* (1814), and they considered the novelist to be intelligent and principled (Le Faye, 2011). Even though this did not bring her fame, the opportunity had not been taken for granted, and it significantly improved her social mobility (Austen-Leigh, 1871, 1882). It has been said that Jane only earned a total of £650 from her novels during her lifetime despite the professionalisation of her career (History Bombs, 2017). She earned less for her novels on average than other contemporaries such as Burney or Edgeworth (Johnson & Tuite, 2020). It is also interesting to note that Jane never referred to herself as a novelist but always as an author or authoress (Johnston, 2010). Jane Austen did not have contact with other literary authors at the time, and her identity had been obscured to them until after her death (Austen-Leigh, 1882). However, Jane generally disliked other novelists (Adkins & Adkins, 2013; Byrne, 2013; Le Faye, 2011).

During the last few months of her life, she ceased her habitual activities, and although she did not seem to suffer, she constructed a comfortable make-shift sofa out of two chairs on which she gradually had to lay on more (C. Austen, 1867; Austen-Leigh, 1882). In 1816,

Austen was working on *Persuasion* (1818), but according to her nephew, James Edward Austen-Leigh (1882), she was not happy with her work and insisted on improving her work. She became increasingly depressed on reflection but woke up one morning and entirely rewrote her condemned chapters (Austen-Leigh, 1882). The writing of her last completed novel, *Persuasion* (1818), was started and completed in June 1816, when Jane Austen became ill again (Garlen, 2012; Nokes, 1997). The nature of her illness is speculative, but some historians and diagnosticians have attempted to solve the mystery (Austen-Leigh, 1882; Upfal, 2005). Austen had attributed her illness to a bile-problem and became hopeful that she would recover (see Austen, 24 January 1817 in Austen-Leigh, 1882). However, according to some researchers, there were signs that her earlier bout of typhus could have left complications; others argued that Addison's disease (destruction of the adrenal glands) or lymphoma paired with a longstanding immunodeficiency disorder could be to blame (Cope, 1964; Ray & Wheeler, 2005; Upfal, 2005).

It is also known that Jane had gradually become ill and that she attempted to connect with important people in her life, often writing grave and melancholic letters during the last years of her life (Austen-Leigh, 1882; Nokes, 1997; Woolsey, 2019). Furthermore, Austen increasingly became hopeful that she was recovering by 23 January 1817, as she felt stronger than before and could walk without fatigue (Austen-Leigh, 1882). In 1817, Jane also cautioned her 12-year-old niece, Caroline Austen, to not start writing until the age of 16 (Southam, 2001). According to the Memoir of 1871, Jane "wished she had read more and written less" by the time she had been 16 herself (Austen-Leigh, 1871, p. 45). Two of Jane's reasons for this, also presented to her niece, Anna, pointed towards the development of Jane's personality preferences by this time, namely authenticity and meticulous attention to detail (Adkins & Adkins, 2013). She warned her niece against the folly of giving accidental false representations in her writing if she did not write from her own experiences (Adkins & Adkins, 2013).

The last dated manuscript entry that she was working on was on 17 March 1817 (Austen-Leigh, 1882). Afterwards, Jane became increasingly pale, soft-spoken, and seemed different than usual (Austen-Leigh, 1882; C. Austen, 1867). Regardless, Jane, Casandra, and their mother moved to Winchester, in College Street in the summer of 1817 to make medical treatment more accessible to her condition (Austen-Leigh, 1882; History Bombs, 2017). Her condition seemed to improve for a brief while, as her previous discomfort was alleviated. She spent her time on the sofa instead of a bed between 9 am and 10 pm every day (Austen-Leigh, 1882). However, the medicine of the time could not heal the ailment or disorder that Jane was suffering from (Socratica, 2014). Cassandra continued to nurse her sister, who was increasingly thankful during the last days of her life (Austen-Leigh, 1882).

On Friday, 18 July 1817, at the age of 41, Jane Austen passed away peacefully at 8 College Street, Chawton (Adkins & Adkins, 2013; Galen, 2012; White, 2006). Her last words in response to whether she had wanted anything were that she wished "nothing but death" (Austen-Leigh, 1882, p. 166). She was buried just 12 miles away from her birth-home situated in Winchester Cathedral's north aisle (Austen-Leigh, 1882; Galen, 2012). It is interesting to notice the stark absence of the author's career on her epithet (see Johnson & Tuite, 2020). After her death, Jane's obituary attributed her works to her name. Jane Austen continued to write until a few months before her death, despite her illness (Galen, 2012). At the time of her death, she had been working on *Sanditon, Lady Susan,* and *The Watsons*, which remained unfinished, but was later published by her nephew (Austen-Leigh, 1882).

3.5. Post-mortem: Rising Popularity and Influence

Northanger Abbey (1818) and *Persuasion* (1818) were only published after Jane's death and her favourite brother, Henry Austen, attached her name to the rest of her work (Austen-Leigh,

1882; Boyle, 2011; Galen, 2012; Steeves, 2020). Further, her three volumes of Juvenilia, *Lady Susan* (1871), as well as chapters of her two unfinished novels, *Sanditon* (1925) and *The Watsons* (1871), remained unpublished for years after her death (Garlen, 2012; Steeves, 2020).

Interestingly, Tom Lefroy travelled to London to attend a Cadell Publishers auction in 1860, after possibly learning that Jane Austen passed away, and bought the rejection letter of *First Impressions*, the preliminary version of the novel, *Pride and Prejudice* (1813) Jane had written during Tom's initial visit in Hampshire (Nokes, 1997). Although it has not been confirmed whether it was the same Tom Lefroy that bought the letter, during the last years of his life T. E. P. Lefroy, Tom Lefroy's nephew, reluctantly confirmed to Jane's nephew, James Edward Austen-Leigh (1871), that his uncle had once had a "boyish love" on Jane Austen.

After Jane's death, Cassandra Austen destroyed many of her sister's letters and correspondences by burning many of them in a furnace before giving redacted letters to some of Jane's nieces (Le Faye, 2011; Nokes, 1997). Although no claims can be made about why Cassandra burnt the letters, it is known that it has been an extremely difficult task for biographers to plot a neutral representation of Jane Austen's life-span as a result (Le Faye, 2011). Although Jane's novels were not extremely popular during her lifetime, her writings gained popularity after 1869 amongst the landed gentry, and her popularity gained extreme momentum during the 20th century (Kelly, 2017; Steeves, 2020). It is also ironic that even though Jane was forced to dedicate her novel, *Emma* (1815) to the Prince Regent whom she despised, her Juvenilia that was dedicated to her family and friends became freely accessible to the public as a form of post-mortem subversion, compared to the forced dedication that is completely inaccessible to the public in the Library at Windsor (Sabor, 2009).

Her novels, which mixed nuanced romance and realism, later became cult classics, selling millions of copies and being translated into many languages after her death (Biography, 2012).

Marriage, love, and wealth remained key themes throughout her novels (History Bombs, 2017). Her characters were also obsessed with social status (History Bombs, 2017). These remain universal themes in the modern-day, even though only two chapters of *Persuasion* (1818) survive, and none of the other six published novels' manuscripts are extant (Sutherland, 2018). After the dawn of cinema in the early 20th century, her novels spawned numerous award-winning films, television series, and film adaptations (see *Appendix E: List of Jane Austen films and film adaptations*). Popular recent examples of films based on or adapted from Jane Austen's novels include, for example, *From Prada to Nada* (2011), *Pride and Prejudice vs. Zombies* (2019), *Pride and Prejudice: Atlanta* (2019), *Emma* (2020), and *Love and Friendship* (2016). These adaptations are by far not an exhaustive collection of films relating to Jane Austen novels. To this extent, at least, her memory lives on in popular imagination, with Jane Austen having influenced 20th- and 21st-century popular culture extensively, even two centuries after her death. For Jane Austen's bicentenary, the Bank of England decided to introduce a new £10 note with an adapted version of the portrait Cassandra had drawn of her face (Kelly, 2017).

3.6. Chapter Conclusion

This chapter delineated Jane Austen's historical context and biography. This was done by, firstly, presenting her socio-historical context and, secondly, presenting the major events and experiences in Austen's life. These were described under five historical periods, namely, Steventon (1775 – 1787); Juvenilia (1787 – 1789); Novels (1789 – 1800); Bath (1800- 1805); and Chawton (1805 – 1817). The chapter concluded with brief notes on some relevant details about her lasting influence after her death in 1817. The following chapter provides a historical and theoretical overview of psychobiography before exploring the preliminary methodological and ethical considerations in Chapter 5.

Chapter 4

Psychobiography: A Theoretical Overview

4.1. Chapter Overview

This chapter provides a theoretical overview of psychobiography. Psychobiography is, firstly, located within social science research as a qualitative case study methodology. The alliance between biography and psychology is also discussed before a definitive overview of psychobiography is provided. Also included is an overview of the key terms and terminologies that relate to psychobiography. Various related methodologies and terminologies are briefly explained and differentiated from psychobiography. Subsequently, a review of the history and trends in international and South African psychobiography is respectively provided in this chapter. The chapter concludes with an exploration of the value of and criticisms lodged against psychobiography. This chapter's broad aim is to elucidate the historical development of psychobiography, along with the field's development from its origins in hagiography to its modern form.

4.2. Locating Psychobiography in Social Science Research

Psychobiography is rooted in social science research as a longitudinal qualitative research methodology that aims to converge the biographical and psychological development of important and influential individuals (Van Niekerk et al., 2019). A brief exposition of the history of social science research, with particular emphasis on qualitative research, will be provided in the following sections. Subsequently, psychobiography will be delineated as a specific form of case study research.

4.2.1. A brief history of the social sciences

Initially, all academic disciplines were confined to the realms of philosophy, before Greek scholars such as Aristotle and Socrates asserted that rationalism should predominate knowledge about the world (Bhattacherjee, 2012). In *Metaphysics*, Aristotle made the first written argument for separating theology, ontology, and universal science (Cohen, 2019). However, no separation between the natural and social sciences was made until later (Ponterotto, 2015).

Since the Renaissance period (circa 1400 C. E. - 1600 C. E.), people have been increasingly acknowledging the importance of studying human beings, their societies, and their cultures (Eller, 2017). During the scientific revolution, which preceded the enlightenment period, progressions in the natural sciences (i.e., mathematics, physics, chemistry, and biology) became prolific (Cohen, 1976). Initially, this rapid expansion of knowledge led to some researchers attempting to apply similar methodologies to the study of the social realm (Bhattercherjee, 2012). However, major paradigm shifts needed to occur to allow for a true ideologically coherent social science to form (Maree, 2016).

According to Guba and Lincoln (1994), paradigms refer to human constructions, which could not be proved. These constructions reflected the varying worldviews researchers had about the nature of research, their roles in research, and the presentation and dissemination of their findings. Although paradigmatic boundaries were not always precise, paradigms could be broadly identified by its researchers' shared epistemologies, ontologies, axiologies, methodologies, and rhetorics (Terre Blanche et al., 2006).

The first documented use of the term social science[9] appears in John Stuart Mill's work on the political economy in 1836 (Senn, 1958). Following this, Auguste Comte, the founding father of sociology and the positivist epistemology of science, used the term as well (Plé, 2000). However, the initial conceptualisation of social science was distorted by Émile Durkheim's (1897) seminal work on suicide. He proposed a theory to explain the suicide rates amongst Protestant and Catholic populations. Durkheim (1897) was an influential proponent of sociological positivism, characterised by objectivity, and attempts to blend the rationalist and empiricist schools of thought (Bhattacherjee, 2012). Prior to this, the sciences fell under the domains of natural philosophy (Manicas, 1991).

Various oppositional movements to the traditional conceptions of nomothetic social science germinated since the aforementioned movements, leading to tensions between emergent competing paradigms (Chia, 2019). However, it seems that the term social science was frequently used in opposition to the term natural science, which was concerned with the positivist focused goal of obtaining knowledge about the material laws of nature through objectivity and value-neutrality (Benton & Craib, 2010). The 20th century marked a rejection of positivist epistemologies, ontologies, and axiologies by antipositivist researchers, such as the German idealists[10] (Bhattacherjee, 2012); the term social science gained widespread prominence in these movements.

It could be argued that what constitutes the contemporary social sciences is the rigorous application of methodologically-grounded and systematic inquiries into the social world (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). These inquiries are typically guided by sets of assumptions that are in contrast with the natural sciences due to the mere nature of the subjects and objects under

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[9] The term social science etymologically derived from two Latin words. On the one hand, the word science derived from the word scientiae, which translates roughly as to know, knowledge or expertise (Becker, 1996; Ponterotto, 2010). On the other hand, the late Middle English term social, derived from the Latin word socius and its derivation socialis, meaning allied (Sen, 1958). In combination, these terms produce the literal meaning of social science: knowledge of allies.

[10] Examples include Kant, Hegel and Fichte (Pinkard, 2002).

study (Desch, 2019). For example, in psychology, the psyche's subject matter is complicated by moral and contextual nuance, which should be considered when theories are developed, and therefore, claims of true objectivity and value-neutrality cannot be made as in the natural sciences (Panelatti, 2018). Furthermore, Immanuel Kant's (1781) *Critique of pure reason* proposed arguments that led to the development of German idealism - laying the groundwork for the epistemological and ontological logic for qualitative methodologies such as hermeneutics and phenomenology, which have gained widespread use in contemporary social science (Bhatterjee, 2012; Nieuwenhuis, 2016).

Manicas (1991) argued that the social sciences comprised disciplines with shared goals and ideologies, despite philosophical and methodological debates between the fields. This view was substantiated by the adoption of many shared innovative anthropocentric and philosophically critical methodologies in multifarious academic disciplines, which included psychology, anthropology, philosophy, sociology, literature, journalism, education, medicine, musicology, nursing, social work, history, and engineering (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018; Flick, 2006; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017; Runyan, 1988a). One such methodological innovation was the development of qualitative techniques of inquiry, which will be discussed next.

Although it is beyond this chapter's scope to explore the full extent of all social science research, it is necessary to narrow the focus to qualitative research. The following sections aim to narrow the chapter's focus on qualitative research in the social sciences before elaborating on psychobiography.

4.2.2. Qualitative approaches

With the decline in positivist and growth in antipositivist thought in the social sciences, qualitative approaches arose (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). Many qualitative approaches rejected

the nomothetic[11] in favour of the idiographic and assumed that the individual was influenced by knowledge of the social world (Nieuwenhuis, 2016). Ponterotto (2005) explained that post-positivist thought, which included a worldview based on modified objectivism and theory falsification, arose from the dissatisfaction of positivistic thought but remained closely tied with the natural sciences. This led to a need for argumentation for human and science epistemologies (Bhattacherjee, 2012; Ponterotto, 2005).

According to Nieuwenhuis and Smit (2012), and Ponterotto (2010), qualitative research was guided by the constructivist-interpretivist paradigmatic ontology and epistemology. Ponterotto (2005) stated that constructivists believed that multiple realities were equally valid and apprehensible and that hidden meaning could be discovered from reflection as a result of a dedication to the hermeneutical approach. This was attributable to the groundwork for emic[12] and idiographic approaches that were earlier introduced by Kant (1887). However, social constructivism and interpretivism were guided by the core ontological distinction from the natural sciences: the Cartesian mind-body duality was rejected in favour of a monistic view of human beings (Pontorotto, 2005). Thus, external knowledge could not be separated from the body's sensory or experienced knowledge, despite various external and internal forces affecting both systems. Moreover, subjective knowledge was claimed to be constructed in the mind of an individual, who, in turn, could only ever be subjective (Ponterotto, 2005). As in-depth, subjective, and rich data was sought by utilising qualitative methodologies, understanding social and cultural processes became increasingly important to researchers (Nieuwenhuis & Smit, 2012). It also became increasingly prominent to accept that the distinction between the natural and the social sciences was important due to the social construction of knowledge and the importance of the lived experience of research participants

[11] Nomothetic refers to group-level approaches, whereas idiographic refers to individual level approaches (Frumkin et al., 2020).
[12] Emic refers to specific behaviours which are limited to specific cultures, and etic refers to universalised human behaviour (Beals et al., 2019).

(Dilthey, 1977; Maree, 2016; Ponterotto, 2005, 2010). Thus, multiple qualitative methodologies arose from this radical change in scientific thought with the dedication of research teams globally (Bhatterjee, 2012; Denzin & Lincoln, 2018).

As was mentioned previously, the inter- and transdisciplinary social sciences introduced qualitative methodologies such as phenomenology and hermeneutics[13] into the scientific lexicon (Knight, 2019; Köváry, 2019; Mullen, 2019). However, other methodologies, such as grounded theory, ethnography, and narratology were also frequently used (Nieuwenhuis, 2016; Nieuwenhuis & Smit, 2012). Case study methodologies have also been useful approaches for exploring and describing social sciences (Panelatti, 2018; Yin, 2018). Various case studies have been used widely in psychological research but are often neglected due to researchers' nomothetic overemphasis (Kőváry, 2011). Psychobiographical case studies, however, provide invaluable knowledge of experiences and phenomena to researchers (Knight, 2019; Köváry, 2011, 2018, 2019; Ponterotto, 2017b, 2017d).

4.2.3. Psychobiography as case study research

Psychobiographies are often designed as case studies (Elms, 2007; Fouché et al., 2015; Ponterotto, 2020). According to Kőváry (2011), idiographic designs such as case studies have been used in psychological research, despite the predominance of nomothetic designs over the past century. Internationally, there has been an increased interest in qualitative and narrative research since the latter half of the 20th century, and interest in single and multiple case psychobiography has also grown (Laszlo, 2008; Ponterotto, 2002; Ponterotto et al., 2015). However, case study methodologies have not been immune to qualitative research criticisms (Gomm et al., 2000). For example, the generalisability of case study methodology has been

[13] Hermeneutics refers to the philosophical system that sees its subjects, in this case texts, as a whole gestalt (Mullen, 2019). This way of looking at psychobiographical interpretation leads to intersubjectivity between the researcher and the texts read and produced (Knight, 2019).

questioned by many researchers (Donmoyer, 2000). This criticism directly extends to psychobiography and is discussed in Chapter 4.9.1.1.

According to Yin (2018), case study designs are frequently found in qualitative psychological research as either single or multiple case studies. In addition, case study designs could either be holistic or embedded case studies (Yin, 2018). Such design choices influence the level of comparability and complexity that researchers can obtain from these cases (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018; Runyan, 1982). Regardless, Yin (2018) argued for the importance of case study research in the social sciences due to the rich contextual nuance that these designs provide.

A single case study design entails understanding an individual within her or his context when the boundaries of the phenomenon under study and the person are virtually inseparable (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Tight, 2017; Yin, 2018). Case studies are often used when the variables under investigation cannot be manipulated for practical or ethical reasons (Yin, 2018). According to Merriam (1998), case study designs have been used for all permutations of evaluative, descriptive, interpretive or evaluative purposes. To achieve this, both the contextual and multiply-sourced triangulated information is necessary for case study rigour (Berg & Lune, 2012). Yin (2018) further emphasised that the context of the phenomenon under study should be meaningful or important for a case study design to be maximally effective. Another unique feature of good case studies is that thorough, rich, and thick descriptions allow alternative perspectives to long-held beliefs, assumptions or truths to be developed (Mills, Eurepos, & Wiebe, 2010).

Case study designs aim to create new questions for future research instead of finding answers to or disproving various hypotheses (Donmoyer, 2000). Case studies are also conducted to systematically answer *how* and *why* questions (Oosthuizen, 2018; Yin, 2018). According to various psychobiographers, case study designs are suitable designs for

longitudinal, life-history or psychobiographical research (Elms, 2007; Ferrer & Ponterotto, 2020; Fouché et al., 2018; Mayer et al., 2020; Ponterotto, 2018). This single case psychobiography aims to uncover and reconstruct Jane Austen's career development over her lifespan, given that it is exploratory-descriptive in nature.

4.3. The Alliance Between Biography and Psychology

Ponterotto and Reynolds (2017) stated that psychology and biography had shared an interwoven history. Psychobiography developed as an uncomfortable, albeit controversial alliance between the biography and psychology (Anderson, 1981; Elms, 1994). Van Niekerk (2007) mentioned that biography was an intuitive approach that highlighted the distinctiveness of individuals, with psychology utilising conceptual models and empirical proofs to explain behaviour. However, Anderson (1981) asserted that most biographies tended to conclude with some form of personality analysis, while Howe (1997) opined that much of the resultant variation between biographical and psychobiographical interpretation seemed to be due to the depth and extent to which psychological theories were typically applied. Psychobiography aims to resolve this uncomfortable alliance due to its grounding as a morphogenic scientific discipline (Ponterotto, 2005).

Due to the intense relationship that the researcher forms with an individual who she or he studies, multiple countertransference issues are bound to arise (Ponterotto, 2018). Such transferential issues are bound to appear during the intensive study of a life because of the phenomenological understanding that appears during such an investigation (Du Plessis & Du Plessis, 2018). This feature, Elms (1994) described as "the uneasy alliance" between the two fields (p. 1). The existence of possible countertransference has been one of the frequent critiques against psychobiographical work, but with methodological developments, managing such critiques have made for "an [easier] alliance" (Du Plessis & Du Plessis, 2018, p. 1).

In essence, a unique research feature of psychobiography is that the psychological researcher necessarily becomes a biographer (Ponterotto, 2018). Therefore, being a psychobiographer is an almost heretic claim: it is both necessary and sufficient to be a psychobiographer if, and only if, a researcher claims to be a biographer too; however, the outcome does not provide conditions for the truth of such a statement. Furthermore, this merger between psychobiographer and subject, and biography and psychology generated actual claims of heresy[14] (Schultz, 2005a). However, it has been argued that neglecting the biographical in psychology would be ignoring an imperative intellectual responsibility (McAdams, 2008; Welman, 2009).

Schultz (2005c, 2005e) found that psychobiography contributed significantly to the advancement of psychology, and Elms (1994) stated that biography has also benefitted from psychobiographical advancement. Some researchers have argued that psychobiographies progressed the academic understanding of persons through the intensive study of lived lives (Kőváry, 2018, 2019; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017, 2019). Therefore, interest in psychobiographical work has grown significantly during the last century, and the term has been reintroduced to the research lexicon (Du Plessis & Du Plessis, 2018). The following section defines and describes psychobiography.

4.4. Psychobiography: Definitions and Descriptions

Psychobiography combines psychology and biography to understand persons (Elms, 1994; Schultz, 2005a); defined as a longitudinal study of exceptional, unique, enigmatic, contentious, controversial or historically significant individuals, thus aiming to systematically transform a subject's life into a psychologically coherent narrative, which highlights and introduces novel ideas on an empirically reconstructed biography (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; McAdams,

[14] Heresy due to the psychobiographical analyses of religious figures, such as the historical Jesus.

1988; Ponterotto, 2017a; Schultz & Lawrence, 2017). Furthermore, the blend of biographical and psychological materials and theories allows for unique qualitative enquiries that create an alternative to the traditional longitudinal research from the nomothetic realms. Van Genechten (2009) also argued that psychobiography, as an interdisciplinary commitment, expands the domain of narrative psychology.

Psychobiography is an idiographic-morphogenic methodology that aims to integrate and contextualise subjects' life histories within psychological frameworks (Fouché et al., 2014; Kőváry, 2018). This is done by filtering a subject's life story through psychological frameworks within her or his socio-historical context while using historiographic methodologies (Ponterotto, 2017a). According to Schultz and Lawrence (2017), psychobiography is a form of applied personality analysis.

Psychobiography has also been referred to as psychological autopsies of narratives due to the lack of contact between the researcher and the researcher's often deceased subject (García-Haro et al., 2020; Simonton, 1999; Stroud, 2004). However, this distinctive feature of psychobiographies presents unique ethical dilemmas due to the necessary practice of naming its subjects (Ponterotto, 2014). Many of these challenges are averted by making exclusive use of publicly available and archival data to construct the subject's biography (Van Niekerk et al., 2019). Thus, the main aim of psychobiography is to illuminate its purposively chosen subject within the subject's socio-cultural and historical contexts by using pre-established psychological theories to reconstruct or transform the subject's life story as it is presented in the reconstructed biographies (Ponterotto, 2015).

Regardless of the nature in which many scholars have described psychobiography, numerous concepts and terms relate to psychobiography that often confuses readers. The following section aims to clarify these concepts briefly and differentiate their relationship to psychobiography.

4.5. Differentiating Concepts Related to Psychobiography

It is important to differentiate psychobiographical research from other comparable designs, methodologies, and concepts. The following subsections briefly disentangle the apparent similarities and differences between some of these approaches and possibly confusing concepts.

4.5.1. Biographies, autobiographies, and psychobiographies

According to Stanley (1993), the main difference between biographies and autobiographies lies in who produces the work. If a person writes about his or her own life or experiences, it constitutes an autobiography; if a person writes about another's, it is called a biography (Stanley, 1993). Furthermore, biographies are factual and structured narratives that are compiled from a multitude of documents, artefacts, reports, and interviews (Cole & Knowles, 2001). In contrast, autobiographies tend to be written from subjective perspectives, highlighting sensory and experiential phenomena with more selective depth (Bertaux, 1981; Roberts, 2002).

Psychobiography combines biographical and autobiographical findings into coherent, holistic descriptions of individual lived lives by using psychological theory (Carlson, 1988; Ponterotto, 2013a, 2013b). Some researchers have mentioned that psychobiography is the ideal method for contextualising and making sense of the lives of figures of note, especially due to making use of psychological findings and theories to understand their life-histories (Kövary, 2019).

4.5.2. Psychohistory, historical psychology, historiometry, historiography and psychobiographies

Psychohistory, historiometry, historical psychology, and historiography are concepts that often cause confusion. However, major differences exist between the three concepts. Psychohistory is psychobiography's parental or kin methodology (Runyan, 2019). Although all three terms are linguistically related to psychobiography, the differences between the terms outweigh its similarities.

Psychohistoristorians favour the psychological interpretation of history (Schultz, 2005c). According to the *Association for Psychohistory* (April 2019), psychohistory figuratively supposes the entire world as the subject under study. Various authors maintain that psychohistory is a broad interdisciplinary field that applies psychological theories to historical ideas to interpret major societal and historical events (Du Plessis, 2016; Jacobs, 2004; Runyan, 1988b; Schultz, 2005c, 2005d). More specifically, psychohistory "combines the insights of psychotherapy with the research methodology of the social sciences to understand the emotional origin of the social and political [behaviour] of groups and nations, past and present" (Association for Psychohistory, April 2019, par.1). Comparatively, it has been noted that psychobiographers select single subject analyses instead of entire historical periods, groups or events (Gronn, 1993). Thus, psychobiography was considered a subfield of psychohistorical research by some researchers before its identity became more concrete (Elovitz, 2018).

Another early methodology that arose from psychohistorical explorations is historiometry (Burnell, 2013; Simonton, 1990, 2018). Historiometry was a predominantly quantitative approach that attempted to analyse single or multiple cases of historical significance (Simonton, 1990, 1999). According to Simonton (2018), historiometry or historiometrics provided a quantitative psychological analysis of individuals in multiple-case designs. This was achieved by applying statistical methods to biographical and other historical data

(Simonton, 2018). Therefore, historiometry differs from historical psychology completely due to the boundary between psychohistory, historical psychology, and historiography. Similarly, historical psychology and historiography differ from psychobiography and psychohistory too.

Historical psychology is primarily a historical pursuit that tracks the development of psychology as a discipline (Runyan, 1988b). It seems obvious that the adjective “historical” modifies the meaning of the word psychology, which implies that the history of psychology is the topic of inquiry.

Historiography is a field of study that studies the history of historical research (Becker, 1938; Croce, 2019). Historiography, therefore, represents an epistemological-ontological investigation into the origins of historical knowledge. This form of academic inquiry aims to examine the development of historical research holistically from critical and bias-illuminating positions (Croce, 2019). Thus, historiography is the study of history’s history (Patrizio, 2020). Although historiographies can be found about psychologically relevant topics, the purpose of such studies is to explore phenomena situated in time rather than track the development of individuals or their influence, as is the case in psychobiography (Runyan, 2019).

Psychobiography can also be differentiated from these methodologies, emphasising ideographically studying lives through psychological lenses, whereas historical psychology concerns the history of influences and ideas surrounding the study of psychologically relevant topics such as psychobiography (Simonton, 1999).

4.5.3. Psychological assessment, career assessment, and psychobiographies

Personality and career assessments take various forms in clinical and research practice (Lowman, 1991). During a personality assessment, data is often collected using psychological tests and comparing it to other standardised samples (i.e., normative) or intra-individually with

regards to the individual's strengths and weaknesses (i.e., ipsative) at a specific point in time (Foxcroft & Roodt, 2013; Moerdyk, 2015). Personality assessments consist of the systematic measurements of individual motives, values, traits, and behaviours of individuals (Alexander, 1988; Foxcroft & Roodt, 2013; Human, 2015; Moerdyk, 2015). Career assessments encompass broader criteria (Correll, 2001; Gysbers, 2006), including life-narrative, contextual, person-environment-fit or integrated approaches and may include personality assessments during the process (Moerdyk, 2015).

However, major differences exist between personality assessments, career assessments, and psychobiography. Firstly, one of the main aims of psychobiography is person understanding, which contrasts with the prediction-based goals of personality and career assessments (Alexander, 1990; Du Plessis, 2016). Secondly, psychobiographies are typically conducted on completed lives (Elms, 1994). According to Alexander (1988, 1990) and Carlson (1988), post-mortem insight is often sought by conducting psychobiographies. This differs from personality and career assessments that are focused on lives in progress (Aiken, 1997; Du Plessis, 2016; Fouché, 1999). Thirdly, while personality and career assessments could incorporate contextual and holistic information, alternative perspectives are often not readily available for researchers and clinicians to envisage the fully dynamic possibilities of a person's life, circumstances or situations (Ferreira, 2016). Fouché and Van Niekerk (2010) explained that psychobiographies supersede other assessments' static limitations due to its retrospective and longitudinal advantages. In addition, many personologists have indicated that psychobiography is uniquely positioned to analyse and contextualise lived lives longitudinally (Nortje et al., 2013).

4.5.4. Life stories, life histories and psychobiographies

Despite the possible overlap, life stories and life histories can be differentiated from psychobiography. Personal narratives, or life stories, are the coherent meanings that individuals

attach to their own experiences across ti me (Atkinson, 2007; McAdams, 2010). Such narratives are often used in the sociological, philosophical, linguistic, and historical fields due to its richness (Atkinson, 1998, 2007). Similarly, life histories attribute meaning in the form of a narrative to an individual's context-bound development by utilising theoretical viewpoints (McAdams, 1988; Nel, 2013). Psychobiographers are also concerned with narratives, but they attempt to provide contextually relevant, systematic explorations of inter alia artists, politicians, and other influential individuals. One of the key differences between psychobiographies and other narrative methods is that distance in time is important for ethical and holistic reasons (Kőváry, 2018; Ponterotto, 2013a, 2017b). For example, psychobiography, due to ethical concerns of the possible impact of mentioning or implicating living persons by name, is often conducted on long-deceased subjects (Ponterotto, 2014, 2017a).

4.5.5. Hagiographies, pathographies, and psychobiographies

Although hagiographies and pathographies share features with psychobiographies, both hagiography and pathography are intentionally biased. Both hagiographies and pathographies focus their biographical enquiries on persons of note. However, their aims differ significantly from psychobiography. On the one hand, hagiography is a genre that unquestionably reveres public figures such as saints, venerated religious figures, and secular social activists to make their ethical lives imitable for its readers (Becker, 1938; Kearl et al., 2015; Lawton, 2012; Rondolino, 2019; Ziolkowski, 1988). On the other hand, pathography denotes notable figures' flaws and pathologies (Ponterotto, 2015b). Schultz (2005c) emphasised that good psychobiographies are not pathographies that aim to diagnose or label the research subjects. Instead, psychobiographers should purport to explain and describe focused phenomena and experiences of lives lived by using personological methods of understanding, without pathologising, devoting themselves to or over-idealising their subjects (Schultz, 2005c;

Ponterotto, 2017a). Although modern psychohagiographies and psychopathographies can contribute to the aetiological understandings of notable figures, the often-biased view of human nature lacks the holistic and contextualised illumination of narratives that psychobiographers strive towards (Michell & Howcroft, 2015; Ponterotto, 2015b; 2017a). Due to a dialectical and holistic approach, psychobiography aims to reconstruct individuals' lives by focusing and reframing their biographical details in meaningful pluralist ways (Dör Zegers, 2008). For this reason, pathologising and reverence are antithetical to good psychobiographical research (Van Os, 2011).

Therefore, Ponterotto (2017a) warned psychobiographers against excessively devoting themselves to or degrading their subjects of study as it impedes a study's trustworthiness. Instead, he argued for the importance of situating the subjects in their contexts and exercising controlled empathy for the subject (Ponterotto, 2017a). The following section aims to briefly provide an overview of the history and trends in psychobiography.

4.6. History of and New Trends in Psychobiography

Kőváry (2011) declared that psychobiography was in its renaissance period. Ponterotto (2015) noted a significant increase in the rise of interest and engagement in psychobiographical research over the last few decades. In South Africa, similar trends have also been observed, with more psychobiographical efforts being dedicated to the lives of significant outliers from history. Currently, new trends in psychobiography have been noted, with a major volume of collaborative research being dedicated to the new trends in psychobiographical research (i.e., Mayer & Kőváry, 2019). However, to understand these new trends, it seems imperative to provide a brief overview of the history of psychobiographical research.

The following section provides an outline of the thematic history and trends in psychobiographical research. Firstly, the history and trends in international psychobiographies

are briefly explored. Thereafter, recent developments and trends in psychobiographies produced in South Africa are discussed.

4.6.1. Themes in the historical development of international psychobiographies

The history of international psychobiography has been subjected to historiographic inquiry (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Hoffman, 1984; Ponterotto, 2015b). Initially, psychobiographies were rooted in literary biographical works, whose authors were not concerned with the psychological status of the subjects under study (McAdams, 1994; Osorio, 2016). Simultaneously, McAdams (1994) alluded that early psychobiographies stemmed from pathographical or hagiographical descriptions of noteworthy individuals.

4.6.1.1. The genesis of psychobiography

Since antiquity, Greek scholars of history, such as Herodotus and Thucydides, have attempted to record, analyse, and explain the past through systematic investigations and narratives of archives, documents, and experienced memories (Arnold, 2000). Since the origins of psychology, scholars have similarly been concerned with describing the past to gain insights into the present and the future (Tileagă & Byford, 2014). Even though many early biographies, hagiographies and pathographies attempted to explain individual behaviour by referring to personality, the origin of psychobiography was only prompted later (Citlak, 2019).

Psychobiography originated from the primitive religious hagiographies of historical saints and martyrs, such as the Martyrs of Palestine and Plutarch's study of *Lives*, circa 50 to 120 C. E. (Halsall, 2019; Ponterotto, 2015b, 2017c). However, saints and venerated persons were later studied after critical hagiographical methodologies were developed in conjunction with theologians (Mitchell & Howcroft, 2015). Early pathographical descriptions of individuals contributed to aetiological understandings of the life-span (Jacobs, 2013; Rustin, 2019).

However, this initial preponderance of persons' pathographical descriptions ignored the holistic and contextual nuance that the lives of subjects under study could contribute. Nevertheless, psychodynamic theorists, such as Freud (1910) and Erikson (1969), contributed immensely to the development of psychobiography.

4.6.1.2. Early psychodynamic psychobiography and psychohistory

Elms (1988, 1994) considers Sigmund Freud's (1910) study of Leonardo da Vinci's creativity as the first true psychobiography. Freud's *Leonardo da Vinci and a memory of his childhood* (1910) is widely acknowledged as the first attempt at a true early psychobiographical attempt (Runyan, 1988b). According to some researchers, Freud's work, which was based on his emergent understanding of psychoanalysis and clinical observational methods, represented his own projections and biases (Elms, 1988; Kőváry, 2011; Ponterotto, 2015b; Runyan, 2019).

Regardless of Freud's initial methodological errors, his early work indicated a progressive shift in the history of not only social science but in psychohistory and psychobiography as well (Runyan, 1988a). For example, the development of his psychoanalytic frameworks and clinical case study methodology allowed numerous future researchers to account for and explain the historical and personal influences on society (Kőváry, 2011). His work was particularly valued by his emerging psychohistorical contemporaries and later influential figures in the social sciences (Anderson, 2019; Citlak, 2019).

The broad interdisciplinary field of psychohistory emerged during the 20th century due to Freud's seminal works. Decades later, Erik Erikson (1958) argued for the importance of examining how human personalities impacted their societies and professed a need for a new psychohistory. Even though Anderson (1981) noted that many historians enriched their works with some form of psychological analysis, particularly their biographical works, Howe (1997) argued that the depth and extent of psychological interpretation were often fragile and lacking

in historical works. Wilhelm Reich's (1933/1946) *The mass psychology of fascism*, in which he proposed that sexual repression caused the rise of authoritarian ultra-nationalism, was a noteworthy attempt at early psychohistory.

Lloyd DeMause (1982) also noted in *The foundations of psychohistory* that the field grew from the need to address areas that traditional history had neglected, such as the history of childhood, parenting practices, incest, and the study of many influential persons' lives. Furthermore, DeMause (1982) added that psychohistory branched into three subfields: group psychohistory, the history of childhood, and psychobiographies. Subsequently, some historians directed severe criticisms at psychohistory as a field of enquiry, with some comparing psychohistory to a pseudoscience due to its researchers' interpretive focus (Kohut, 1986; O'Keefe, 2019; Stannard, 1980).

4.6.1.3. Critiques of Psychobiography and the Second World War

Modern psychobiography emerged from the century-long dedication to rigour after Freud's (1910) work was criticised (Elms, 1988, 1994). However, according to Runyan (1988a, 1988e), numerous psychobiographies were initially attempted in the 20th century before similar criticisms halted the field's progression for decades. This was largely attributable to the international shift in research foci during the Second World War (Ponterotto, 2015b). Ponterotto (2015b) stated that the Second World War accelerated the development of psychobiography and advanced the field towards post-Freudian methodologies. Murray (1943) attempted to apply a psychobiographical method to the life-history of Adolf Hitler during this period. A further complication to the relative stagnation of psychobiographical efforts was that psychobiographers had not properly differentiated their methodologies and strategies from psychohistorical inquiries, and psychoanalysis was falling out of favour with many researchers (Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017).

However, this relative stagnation of psychobiographical efforts was obliterated when Erikson's (1958, 1969) mature psychobiographies argued for the importance of studying the influence of history on the personality of historical figures, as well as the influence of their personalities on history. This also allowed for a more holistic, life-span developmental view of individuals, which characterises the identity of modern psychobiographical practices (Fouché, 2015). After the Second World War, many psychological and other social science researchers shifted their research foci to more humanistic and holistic interests due to growing discontent with nomothetic and positivist attempts at anthropic description (Runyan, 2013).

4.6.1.4. Holism, humanism, and increased personological interest

After the initial reluctance to conduct psychobiographical work due to a dominant positivist status quo in academic departments, other legitimised psychobiographical nodal points arose worldwide (Ponterotto, 2019b). Globally, major academic psychobiographers emerged with increased interest and dedication towards the production and development of rigorous psychobiographies (see Mayer & Kőváry, 2019). This renewed interest in the motivations and influences on exceptional historical figures' lives sparked a resurgence in humanistic and holistic accounts of personological development (Mayer & May, 2019; Runyan, 2013).

According to Ponterotto (2015), during the Second World War, the psychological profiling of political leaders became major subjects for research teams across North America. However, personological and idiographic interest also grew, particularly at Harvard University, under the guidance of Gordon Allport and Henry Murray (Ponterotto, 2015). This allowed for a turn in the development of psychobiography, as average and exceptional individuals could equally be studied using systematic methodologies.

During this period, major theories that accounted for personological development were also developing in opposition to the behaviourist accounts of personhood (Hogan et al., 1997). For

example, Rollo May, Henry Murray, Carl Rogers, Gordon Allport, and Abraham Maslow were developing personological theories aimed at explaining and describing the phenomenology of personhood more holistically and humanistically (Decarvalho, 1991; Runyan, 2013). This allowed for the legitimacy of qualitative and post-psychoanalytic theories to spread (Kvale, 2003). Erikson's psychosocial accounts of individual lives also became highly respected and differentiated from traditional psychohistorical work (Kushner, 1993). In furtherance of constructivist and interpretivist goals, many theorists such as Levinson (1976, 1978, 1996) and Murray (1940, 1963) and their colleagues were also adopting case study methodologies with increased vigour and nuance. This significantly boosted the spread of case study and, in turn, psychobiographical methodology. Many other researchers have contributed substantially to the development and spread of psychohistorical and psychobiographical literature in recent years (Elovitz, 2018; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2015; Mayer, 2020; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017, 2019). However, the increased dedication to psychobiographical literature prompted for more critical and ethically aware practices, as well as renewed interest and institutionalisation of psychobiographical methodologies (Ponterotto, 2015).

4.6.1.5. Renewed interest and institutionalisation

According to Carlson (1988), international psychobiography was propelled when the *Journal of Personality* dedicated an exclusive issue on psychobiography. Major pioneers in modern psychobiography, such as Irving Alexander (1990), Alan Elms (1994), and Todd Schultz (2005c) started contributing to the development of modern psychobiographical methodology (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). Other influential international contributors to the field of psychobiography, included Zoltan Kőváry, Dan McAdams, William McKinley Runyan, James Anderson, Todd Schultz, and Joseph G. Ponterotto (Fouché, 2015; Ponterotto, 2015). Arguably, the renewed interest and methodological advancements in psychobiographical

research sparked the institutionalisation of the field. This was observable as the growth and proliferation of articles relating to psychobiography has been steadily increasing until today.

After this initial increase in interest, Ponterotto (2015) stated that psychobiographical methodologies were "harshly criticised by psychologists and historians for weak historiographic research methods" (p. 384). Nevertheless, additional psychobiographies were undertaken by postgraduates internationally since the 1950s, and academic departments began the institutionalisation of the methodology (Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017; Ponterotto et al., 2015). This led to a focus on the methodological development of psychobiographic methodologies internationally (see Mayer & Köváry, 2019).

Several psychobiographical analysis systems and systematic methodologies were subsequently developed by researchers to counter these criticisms. Silvan Tomkins' (1962, 1963) script theory, Irving Alexander's (1988, 1990) indicators of salience, McAdam's (2005) life-story model of identity, and various conceptual matrices have all aided in the rigour of psychobiography (Ponterotto, 2015). Hiller (2011) also demonstrated the use of a Multi-Layered Chronological Chart, which has been useful for psychobiographical contextualisation (Ponterotto, 2014). Furthermore, various frameworks for research have been developed for psychobiography to explain the systematic application of psychobiography to novice researchers (e.g., Du Plessis, 2017; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2019). However, criticisms of systematic subject and theoretical selection bias became more prominent as more psychobiographies were conducted (Young & Collins, 2018).

4.6.1.5. Subject variety

Due to the criterion of purposive selection, psychobiographies have been proliferated by research into diverse subjects. Psychobiographers select their subjects based on their interest value, influence, admirability, fame, enigmaticity, mysteriousity, contentiousness, uniqueness,

and controversiality (Nell, 2018; Oosthuizen, 2018). Other criteria were also frequently cited for subject inclusion due to purposive sampling (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018; Panelatti, 2018). The study of political, religious, and scientific leaders, as well as sportspersons, writers, and artistic figures, have particularly been central to the development of academic psychobiographical literature (Cilliers & Mayer, 2019; Du Plessis & Stones, 2019; Kőváry, 2011; Mayer, 2020).

Firstly, psychobiographies were often conducted on deceased political figures (Fouché, 1999). For example, Post (1991) conducted psychobiographical research on Saddam Hussein; McAdams (2011) researched George W. Bush; Ponterotto (2019a) researched John F. Kennedy Jnr.; and Du Plessis (2016) conducted a psychobiography on Winston Churchill (Ponterotto, 2015b). According to Van Niekerk et al. (2019), psychobiographical methodology can elucidate such leaders' characteristics and decisions throughout their leadership.

Regardless, various psychobiographies were also conducted on premortem political figures (Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017). For example, psychobiographies have been written about Donald Trump, Barack Obama, Condoleezza Rice, and Hillary Clinton (see Elovitz, 2016; Falk, 2010; Fitch & Marshall, 2008; McAdams, 2016). More recently, Elovitz (2020) conducted a multiple psychobiography on Donald Trump and Joe Biden. With the existence of the Goldwater Rule, the American Psychiatric Association (1973, 1976) has promoted such studies to be done on future political leaders due to the potential influence they may have on a large number of people (Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2019). Furthermore, Balogun and Ogunleye (2019) argued that the potential public benefits that may come from the study of political lives-in-progress is in the public's interest and outweighs the potential embarrassment that some findings may cause for political leaders. However, such studies are done predominantly in North America, and exceptions to this trend are yet to be discovered in other countries.

Secondly, psychobiographies were often conducted on religious leaders and figures, sometimes with much controversy (Navsaria, 2014; Saccaggi, 2015). For example, psychobiographies based on religious leaders have included Erikson's (1962, 1969) studies on Martin Luther[15] and Mahatma Gandhi. Furthermore, Van Os' (2007) historical Jesus; Juliette and Alexander Georges' (1956) psychobiography of Woodrow Wilson; Anderson's (1994) and Morain's (1998) Joseph Smith; and Saccaggi's (2015) Gordon Bitner Hinkley and Wilford Woodruff have all sparked debates about the preservation of respect and dignity, as well as the hagiographical status of such leaders. This is because the illustration of dogmatic principles is necessary preconditions to theological teaching in the hagiographical accounts of religious figures (Meissner, 2003).

Thirdly, psychobiographies have been conducted on scientists, academics, artists, lyricists, and authors (Mayer, 2017, 2019a, 2019b; Nell, 2018; Runyan, 2019). Some prominent examples of these include psychobiographies written about Anthony Kiedis by Latilla and Kramer (2018); C. G. Jung by Kőváry (2015); Paulo Coelho by Mayer and Maree (2017); John Lennon by Osorio (2016); Freddie Mercury by Louw (2017); Sylvia Plath by Panelatti (2018); and Vincent van Gogh by Runyan (1981). Another comparative psychobiography about Csáth and Dezső Kosztolányi, two Hungarian writers, was done by Kőváry (2013). Psychobiographical studies are particularly useful in examining creative and innovative individuals (Mayer & Maree, 2018). This is because the longitudinal psychobiographical approach, with its wide variety of theoretical options, allows for the development of rigorous, psychologically-informed accounts and explanations for the development of creative genius (Kőváry, 2013; Mayer & Maree, 2018).

In addition, the renewed interest in both psychobiographical ethics and methodology has complimented and shifted psychobiographical subject diversity through more rigorous, multi-

[15] Readers are reminded that Martin Luther was the catalyst for the Protestant Revolution (Erikson, 1962).

theoretically informed, and multiple case study psychobiographies (Ponterotto, 2015b). The trend in subject selection also allows for inclusion and social reparation, with multicultural, diverse subjects being increasingly selected for psychobiographical inquiry. According to Fouché (2015), an increasing amount of gender, career and culture diverse subjects have been selected for psychobiographical inquiry over the last few years, after criticisms of the structural and methodological biases in subject selection. Prior to these critiques, most South African psychobiographies focused almost exclusively on historically significant white males (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). This trend has allowed psychobiographers to start reaching their aim of analytic generalisability with increasing ease due to the diverse database of subjects (see chapter 5 and 6).

4.6.1.6. Continued geographical spread and dissemination

Ponterotto (2015) hailed the international growth in psychobiographical research. This is arguably attributable to the expansion of psychobiographical expertise, as well as the increased exposure of psychobiographies at academic conferences and in peer-reviewed journals that have been sought over the past few decades (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Ponterotto, 2015). The increased exposure granted by publishing psychobiographies in major international journals and textbooks has also signified a turning-point for psychobiography as a method (Du Plessis & Du Plessis, 2018; Ponterotto, 2018). To prove this, the *Journal of Personality (*1988), Schultz's (2005) *Handbook of Psychobiography,* the *American Psychologist* (2017), the *Indo-Pacific Journal of Phenomenology* (2018), the *Journal of Psychology in Africa* (2015) have all increased the exposure to psychobiographical methodologies by dedicating full issues or significant sections to psychobiographical research over the past years. Clearly, significant international interest in the field has contributed to the revival of psychobiography. Some institutions have also responded to the calls for psychobiography to be reintroduced by

integrating the methodology into postgraduate psychology curricula (Ponterotto, 2017c). These international trends seem to be reflected in South African psychobiographies.

4.6.2. History and trends in South African psychobiography

At the dawn of the current century, South African researchers expanded their foci of inquiry and fostered the legitimisation of academic psychobiographies (Fouché, 2015; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). The number of psychobiographical studies rapidly increased internationally, with South African researchers also contributing major contextual nuance and relevance to the field (Van Niekerk et al., 2019).

4.6.2.1. Contextual nuance and holism

South African psychologists and psychobiographers have contributed to the expansion of contextual nuance in psychobiographical literature (Du Plessis, 2017; Köváry, 2019). For example, a South African statesman, Jan Smuts, wrote the seminal work *Holism and Evolution* (1927). This work introduced the term holism in opposition to reductionism (Ansbacher, 1994). According to the holistic view of the person, the individual construction of knowledge, situated in a particular socio-cultural context, influenced the lived experience and knowledge of a full person (Bolton & Gillet, 2019). This was in line with the early 20th century developments towards qualitative paradigms, which argued for the essential distinction between the social from the natural sciences (Dreyfus, 1980). Modern day South African psychobiography embraces the holistic view of personhood due to such hermeneutical difference (Elms, 1994; Fouché et al., 2017; Kőváry, 2013).

Arguably, with Fouche's (1999) doctoral thesis on the life of the father of holism, Jan Smuts, more South African psychobiographies were undertaken. Psychobiographers in South Africa emerged rapidly and explored South African figures of note more thoroughly through the lenses of psychobiographical methods. For example, psychobiographies on Beyers Naudé and Sol Plaatjie were undertaken. The multicultural South African context, rich and rife in historical nuance and intricacy, could be portrayed through focusing on the lives of various South Africans of note (Fouché et al., 2015; Welman, Fouché, & Van Niekerk, 2019). However, South African psychobiographers did not exclusively focus on nationally homogenous subjects, as various psychobiographies on significant and extraordinary international outliers have also been conducted (*Appendix G*). The institutionalisation of psychobiography in South Africa could probably be attributed to the popularity of the method by zestful and youthful South African postgraduates in the last two decades (Fouché, 2015; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). However, calls have been made for more psychobiographies to be undertaken on famous persons to maintain and accelerate the rate of psychobiographical interest development (Fouché, 2015).

4.6.2.2. Institutionalisation

According to Van Niekerk et al. (2019), major developments have occurred in South African psychobiography since its resurgence. Numerous psychobiographies were published at universities in South Africa since 2004, with the majority of novel outputs arising from postgraduate dissertations and theses (see *Appendix G* for a list of psychobiographical outputs at South African Universities). Researchers at the University of the Free State, the Nelson Mandela University, the University of Johannesburg, Rhodes University, Stellenbosch University, the University of Fort Hare, and the University of South Africa particularly contributed to the proliferation of psychobiographical outputs (Van Niekerk et al., 2017).

Between 2005 and 2009, the spread of psychobiographical literature in South Africa has been notable, especially at academic conferences and psychological journals (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010).

4.6.2.3. Subject and theoretical diversity

With the rapid international growth of psychobiographical application over the second half of the 20th century, South African researchers also suggested that postgraduate researchers' interests were privileging the selection of white male subjects for psychobiographical analysis (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Fouché et al., 2007; Perry, 2012). However, recent trends have shown that such concerns have become more relevant to researchers, as a greater diversity of psychobiographical subjects have been selected on the basis of gender, ethnicity, and careers (Burnell, 2013; Osorio, 2016). There seems to be a budding proliferation of subject diversity in the psychobiographical research effort worldwide since increased collaborative efforts between local and international institutions have been initiated (see Mayer & Köváry, 2019).

According to Van Niekerk (2007), Burgers (1939) conducted the first academic psychobiographical analysis of an exceptional South African, C. J. Langenhoven. This was followed by studies on Louis Leipold, Ingrid Jonker, and Gerard Sekota (Burgers, 1960; Manganyi, 1996; Van der Merwe, 1978). However, psychobiography in South Africa received little attention or interest for an extended period prior to the 1990s (Fouché, 1999, 2015; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010).

More recently, however, South African academic psychobiography has been expanding significantly, and many of the initial criticisms against psychobiographical subject choice have been addressed (Fouché, 2015). This expansion reflects Kőváry's (2011) proclamation that psychobiography is in a renaissance period. Just as psychobiographical research was expanding

internationally, particularly in North American postgraduate programmes, a substantial increase in master's and doctoral level South African psychobiographies was noted between 1995 and 2009 (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). It seems that this trend is continuing with the growing and observable rate of psychobiographical outputs in South Africa (see *Appendix G*).

According to Fouché et al. (2007), the initial surge of psychobiographical subjects in South Africa was primarily based on white male subjects between 1995 and 2004, which reflects criticisms from Young and Collins (2018). Noticeably, greater gender and ethnic diversity have been observed in the subject selections of postgraduate researchers since then. For example, *Appendix G* indicates that purposive selection based on female and ethnic subject diversity has increased recently. Furthermore, career or significance criteria have also been increasing in South African psychobiographies (Fouché, 2015; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). This not only extended the focus of psychobiographical research conducted by South Africans but enriched it valuably. The value, criticism, and limitations of psychobiographical work are explained next.

4.7. The Value, Criticism, and Limitations of Psychobiography

In the following two sections, the value, criticism, and limitations of psychobiography are explored briefly. Firstly, the value of psychobiographical research is explored, followed by the criticisms and limitations of this approach.

4.7.1. Value of psychobiography

As an idiographic research approach, psychobiography has been valuable for many reasons (Alexander, 1988; Carlson, 1988; Elms, 1994; Schultz, 2005c, 2005e). The following section aims to briefly explore some of the major values and benefits of psychobiographical research.

4.7.1.1. Testing, developing, and moulding psychological theory

The most prominent value of psychobiography is that it allows researchers to produce and mould psychological theories (Carlson, 1988; Elms, 1994; McLeod, 1994). By using pre-existing psychological theories, single case psychobiography provides unique opportunities for the contextualised and in-depth exploration of unique, enigmatic, and influential figures (Elms, 2007; Simonton, 1999). This contributes to richer opportunities for multicultural and historically critical theoretical development and testing (Ponterotto, 2010). Applied psychobiographies potentiate the international movement towards multiculturally respectful research practices (Ponterotto, 2010, 2017b). Schultz (2005c) explained that psychobiography is uniquely situated to generate alternative hypotheses that allow researchers to add richness to existing bodies of literature about various phenomena. Fouché et al. (2017) also stated that applied psychobiographical work allows psychological theory testing on a longitudinal scale.

4.7.1.2. Educational advantages

A third benefit of psychobiography is that the process of conducting it allows skill and awareness development for emerging researchers and clinicians-in-training (Ponterotto, 2017a). Firstly, Kőváry (2013, 2018) and Ponterotto (2017a, 2017b, 2017c) highlighted the potential bridging role that psychobiography could play in psychologists' training. Traditionally, there has been a divide between academic psychology and clinical practice (Teachman et al., 2012). However, Kőváry (2013; 2018) has emphasised that the hermeneutic methods employed in clinical practice are developed and refined in conducting academic psychobiographies. Kőváry (2011) also mentioned that self-awareness, self-reflection, and the awareness of another are core competencies in the training of psychologists that can be accelerated by the longitudinal study of lives. This is because a psychobiography provides a

longitudinal investigation and in-depth exploration into understanding the lived life of a significant figure (Fouché et al., 2015; Kőváry, 2018).

Some researchers have also alluded to the secondary benefits that such reflective methodologies have had on their own personal development (Kasser, 2017; Köváry, 2011, 2018; Mayer & Maree, 2018; Wegner, 2020). Therefore, Ponterotto (2017a) has reiterated that professional training programmes could benefit from the applied ethical dilemmas that arise from psychobiographical research. In addition, the dialectical-hermeneutical engagement of a psychobiographer with his or her subjects' biographical data develops important process skills for future therapeutic work and enhances the researchers' multicultural and social justice competencies (Acklin, 2018; Kőváry, 2011, 2013, 2018; Ponterotto, 2010, 2017). The process of conducting a psychobiography, therefore, develops applied interpretation and integration skills more directly than other research methodologies do. However, conducting psychobiographies can be overwhelming for novice researchers (Du Plessis, 2017). For this reason, systematic methods have been developed for budding professionals to conduct psychobiographical research (see Du Plessis, 2017; Ponterotto, 2010).

4.7.1.3. Logistical and administrative benefits

Another advantage of psychobiography is its logistical and administrative benefits to researchers, supervisors, and departments (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). According to Ponterotto (2017a), it is valuable for training purposes in higher education. As psychobiography is a flexible and inexpensive methodology, postgraduate researchers can benefit from it tremendously (Ponterotto, 2017b).

4.7.1.4. Public interest and research dissemination

Psychobiography, with its focus on historically significant individuals, has the unique potential to make psychological theories and findings accessible to the public due to its malleability and its potential interest value. For example, some infamous psychobiographies have been written about the comparison between the personalities of Donald Trump, Hillary Clinton, and Joe Biden (Elovitz, 2016, 2020); others have focused on the lives of tortured artists, authors, and musicians such as Vincent van Gogh, Roald Dahl, and John Lennon (see Kasser, 2013; Runyan, 1981) or famous persons of interest such as Bobby Fischer (Ponterotto, 2012). Therefore, it seems logical to extend the idiographic reasons for researchers' subject choices to those of the non-academic public when granting access to research findings in unconventional ways. As a psychobiography, a psychobiographical study's findings could, for example, potentially be presented in non-academic magazines, books or documentaries to disseminate findings to a wider audience that may benefit from it more than traditional research publications have allowed for (Ponterotto, 2014). This, paired with the psychobiographer's commitment to studying outliers and exceptions, thus presents unique opportunities for the distribution of psychological knowledge to the public.

4.7.1.5. Contextualising and tracing individual lives holistically

According to Du Plessis (2016), psychobiographers should "understand [their] subjects within the richness of the social and historical world in which [the subject] live[d]" (p. 118). This allows the holistic development and contextualisation of the subject, which may be much more nuanced than it may initially have seemed (Saccaggi, 2015). According to Howe (1997) and Runyan (1988a, 1988b, 1988c), if a subject under study is considered holistically, rather than based on narrow achievements or characteristics, it could result in a greater understanding of the individual. McAdams (2006) acknowledged this view and proposed that rich descriptions

of individuals in their environments allowed for increasingly complex portrayals and reconstructions of their life-stories. Paired with the appreciation value that psychobiography provides for the study of greatness or exception, holistic contexts in psychobiography allow for more accurate descriptions of individual lives (McAdams, 1994).

4.7.1.6. Studying, appreciating, and tracking outliers

Studying individual lives longitudinally provides ways of appreciating seemingly non-normative individuals while demonstrating that such outliers' creative, exceptional or horrific experiences are within reach of normative experiences (Osorio, 2016; Panelatti, 2018; Ponterotto, 2013b). According to Panelatti (2018), psychobiography focuses on the perceived "outliers on the normal distribution of personality development" (p. 241). This is a unique and useful feature of psychobiography, as the study of the exceptional achievements or life-stories of weird, wacky and wonderful individuals could potentially "inspire citizens towards similar life achievements" or demonstrate methods of overcoming specific contextual adversities (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010, p. 52). This feature of psychobiography also fosters holistic and morphogenic descriptions of such outliers within their sociocultural contexts, which is beneficial to the mere appreciation value that longitudinal investigations may provide for fascinating individuals (Louw, 2017; Nell, 2018; Panelatti, 2018).

4.7.1.7. Uncovering subjective realities

Another frequently mentioned contribution psychobiographers make is that the methodology can uncover the subjective inner realities of their subjects (Du Plessis, 2016; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Panelatti, 2018). According to Panelatti (2018), tracing subjects' lives develops a hermeneutical and phenomenological perspective of the subject, which allows for the subject's personal myths to be captured more empathically. Runyan (1988a, 1988d, 1988e)

initially proposed this notion, adding an emphasis on the evocative value that life-stories can produce. Uys (2010) and Goodson and Sikes (2001) further added that this understanding allows for a unique merger between the subjective realities of the researcher and the researched.

4.7.1.8. Plurality: Multiple and alternative explanations

According to Runyan (1981, 2005), psychobiographical description, explanation, and interpretation often lead to multiple alternative descriptions of an individual's life. This is predominantly due to the various methods of formulation according to different researchers or theoretical frameworks that are utilised in psychobiographical case studies (Runyan, 2005a). However, when the evidence is examined critically, and the results of such inquiries are consistent, plausible alternative descriptions, explanations, and inferences are valid (Latilla & Kramer, 2018; Runyan, 2005a). Arguably, this precise plurality of psychobiographical accounts is valuable to psychobiographers due to its consistency within the qualitative traditions, as complexity and nuance are contributed to the case (Morawski, 2016). Therefore, by providing or finding alternative descriptions of similar data, psychobiographers can systematically reduce reductionist criticisms and bring their subjects' essential lived experiences and lives to the foreground again (Mayer & Maree, 2017, 2018; Runyan, 1981). Despite the numerous benefits and values of psychobiography, various criticisms and limitations of psychobiographical research are outlined in the following section.

4.7.2. Limitations and criticisms of psychobiography

As noted in the previous section, conducting single case psychobiographical research holds numerous benefits; however, several limitations of the methodology have also been noted by prominent researchers (i.e.,Kőváry, 2011; Ponterotto, 2014; Runyan, 1988; Schultz, 2005c).

Other researchers have critiqued the psychobiographical method (Anderson & Dunlop, 2019; Young & Collins, 2018). Some of these are briefly explored.

4.7.2.1. Generalisability

The generalisability of psychobiographical studies to other populations, subjects or contexts has often been at the forefront of psychobiography critiques (Navsaria, 2014; Runyan, 1984; Volkan, Itzkowitz, & Dod, 2007; Willig, 2008). This closely follows the arguments set out by Donmoyer (2000) about the generalisability of single case studies. However, researchers of good psychobiographies do not claim or aim to generalise their findings to other populations, contexts or subjects of inquiry as analytic generalisability is sought instead (Carlson, 1988; Yin, 2018). Researchers who employ analytic generalisation aim to provide conceptual cases that either challenge or support specific theories or theoretical constructs (Yin, 2018). This is in contrast to statistical generalisation, which aims to generalise findings from observed samples to unobserved populations (Simonton, 1999; Yin, 2018). Due to psychobiographers' focus on individuals instead of average experiences and lives, Thorndike's envisioned future of nomothetic generalisability in the social sciences due to interactional-aggregate inferences is irrelevant to psychobiographies (Donmoyer, 2000). To prevent this, multiple case psychobiographies allow the exploration of contextual intricacies between cases, which are valuable for idiographic research purposes (Kőváry, 2013). However, Elms (2007) suggested that comparative psychobiographies also have the potential to enhance nomothetic goals when a large body of psychobiographical research is available. In addition, extending the available body of research in psychobiography could one day allow for a psychobiographical database of persons in which a balance between diversity and commonality would be displayed (Elms, 2007).

4.7.2.2. Limited frameworks

Psychobiographies have typically been based on psychoanalytic frameworks, despite the history of methodological developments and an increasing interest in alternative explanations (Anderson, 1981; Ponterotto, 2014; Runyan, 1988a). However, memories could be distorted by experiences and interpretations, which may question the credibility of psychobiographical subjects' memories (Baumeister et al., 2018; Hoffman, 1984; Nourkova, Bernstein & Loftus, 2004; Runyan, 1988a). As psychobiographers rely on the accounts of reported and documented memories, the truthfulness of their accounts may, in essence, be based on biased or flawed source data (Hoffman, 1984; Tversky & Marsh, 2000). Therefore, critical readings of archival data should be done (Kadar, 1992; Knight, 2019).

Nevertheless, there has been a recent explosion of theoretical multiplicity in psychobiographical research internationally (Fouché et al., 2017). More theoretical frameworks have been utilised over the past 20 years in psychobiographical case studies than were used before, allowing for nuance and multiple theoretical intricacies, criticisms, and understandings to emerge than was possible through pure psychoanalytic psychobiographies (Runyan, 1997). This, paired with multiple theoretically based, psychologically-informed alternative accounts of individual subjects' lives, allows for the rapid development and refinement of psychological theories (Schultz & Lawrence, 2017).

4.7.2.3. Subject selection

According to Young and Collins (2018), a limiting and intellectually irresponsible practice that still persists in modern psychobiographical literature is that White, male subjects predominate the international psychobiographical literature due to assumptions that they are more "historically significant" than other subjects. This follows from debates surrounding whose history counts as significant history; and are important limitations that should be addressed in

future research. Furthermore, some authors also raised critiques that historically intertwined disciplines, such as psychobiography, often display systematic gender-biases that should be deconstructed due to the minimisation of female agency representation (Mills & Eurepos, 2010; Mtshiselwa, 2015; Shepard & Walker, 2009). Young and Collins (2018) also argued that male-centred histories were irresponsibly perpetuated in psychobiographical research, which they mentioned, was in stark contrast to the developments of the contemporary social sciences. Thus, written history has traditionally only been concerned with patriarchally vested interests such as wars, riots, economics, and politics, which seems to inherently reflect patriarchal concerns (Shepard & Walker, 2009). However, with the resurgence and rapid development of the psychobiographical method over the last few decades, it seems that postgraduate psychobiographers are presently addressing such criticisms. Nevertheless, the gender-based selection bias was purposefully averted in this psychobiography by selecting Jane Austen, a woman of influence.

Lastly, similar criticisms could be raised for ethnic and able-diverse subjects and could be a worthwhile avenue to explore in future studies of subject selection (Adler, 2017). Adler (2017) argued for the "privileging [of] ethical [subject] representation over generalisability" (p. 1), which also addressed the limitation of generalisability.

4.7.2.4. Other limitations and critiques

Young and Collins (2018) raised other concerns regarding the integration of the psychobiographical method into mainstream psychology research. For example, they criticised the psychobiographical approach due to an inherent lack of informed consent from the subjects of study, as well as based on seemingly decontextualised and overly-deterministic findings that are often reported (Young & Collins, 2018). However, although valid, Ponterotto (2018) argued that the critiques for the potential public harm, determinism, and decontextualisation of

psychobiography could be averted with rigorous grounding in historiographic methods and increased ethical integrity by psychobiographers. In addition, increased awareness of the limitations, quality, and rigour, as well as the psychobiographical ethics, have come into the foreground (Du Plessis, 2017; Ponterotto, 2015a). Some researchers extended this awareness to an advocation of responsible and ethically aware psychobiographical practice (Fouché, 2015; Ponterotto, 2010, 2013a, 2014b). The ethical considerations are explored and addressed more thoroughly in the following chapter.

4.8. Chapter Summary

In Chapter 4, a theoretical overview of psychobiography was provided by tracing the development of psychobiography from its origins to modern psychobiography. This was accomplished by tracing the social sciences' evolution to the constructivist-interpretivist paradigm with its dedication to qualitative methodologies, such as case studies. Psychobiography was delineated and differentiated from other similar methodologies before reviews of the international and South African psychobiography trends were provided. The chapter concluded with a discussion of the value and core limitations of the approach. However, criticisms against and limitations of the approach will be addressed more thoroughly in the following two chapters. The following chapter provides an account of the preliminary ethical and methodological issues arising from this study. Chapter 6 explains the methodology used in this study.

Chapter 5

Preliminary Methodological and Ethical Considerations

5.1. Introduction

Prior to undertaking this psychobiographical study, several criticisms and debates involving psychobiographical practice were considered. Chapter 5 is structured in three parts, with its respective subdivisions. Firstly, the main preliminary considerations in psychobiographical methods are explored and addressed in relation to the present study. Secondly, considerations in psychobiographical quality control are explored and applied to this study. This is followed by various considerations in psychobiographical ethics, which are explored and briefly applied to this study.

5.2. Preliminary Considerations in Psychobiography: Methodology

Researchers have expanded psychobiographical methodologies over the past century by addressing various criticisms and flaws in existing methodologies (Anderson, 1981; Schultz & Lawrence, 2017). Many of these criticisms were not only valid and justified but inevitably valuable to the growth and advancement of the approach (Anderson, 1981; Du Plessis, 2017; Ponterotto, 2018). In a review of pre-1980s psychobiographical literature, Anderson (1981) stated that psychobiographers often disparage their subjects, sometimes unintentionally. Some authors have since addressed these pitfalls and critiques and have warned psychobiographers of the boundaries of psychobiographical interpretation (Ponterotto, 2014, 2018).

Initially, a pandemonium of psychoanalytic psychobiography dominated the literature (Elovitz, 2018). Early psychobiography was deeply rooted in psychodynamic theories due to the clinical case method followed by Freud and Freud et al, in their infamous case studies of Little Hans (1909), Rat Man (1909), Dora (1905), and Wolf Man (1918/2003). According to Hoffman (1984), early psychobiographies were "unsophisticated and crude" but were essential in the development of modern methodologies (p. 349). For this reason, the major methodological precautions are illustrated with examples of early psychodynamic studies, which are frequently cited in the critical literature.

For more than a century, psychobiographers have been developing and expanding the literature surrounding not only their subjects and theoretical choices but also their methodologies (Du Plessis, 2017; Du Plessis & Du Plessis, 2018; Ponterotto, 2014; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017). However, with the freedom provided by the increasing methodological coherence and diversity, increased responsibility also arose (Ponterotto, 2018). This led to evolving critiques and awareness of methodological limitations, with the receptibility of the prominent psychobiographers making major revisions and further developments of their methodologies (Ponterotto, 2018).

More recently, some researchers have been critical of the psychobiographical approach, despite the increasing systematised legitimacy of psychobiographical endeavours (Du Plessis & Du Plessis, 2018; Young & Collins, 2018). In response to a critical article written by Young and Collins (2018), Ponterotto (2018) addressed their criticisms by emphasising the role of psychobiography in theory testing, as well as acknowledging the importance of adequate historiographical methodologies and contextualisation.

Prior to this commentary, Ponterotto (2014b) highlighted common pitfalls in poor psychobiographical research based on Anderson (1981), Runyan (1982), Elms (1994), and

Schultz's (2005b) research. These four pioneers cited reductionism as a common pitfall of poor psychobiography (Ponterotto, 2014b). Disparagement, researcher bias, and pathography, as well as various references to theoretical choice, were all noted as problematic by most researchers (Anderson, 1981; Elms, 1994; Runyan, 1982; Schultz, 2005b). Some researchers found possible problems with ahistorical or revisionist psychobiographical undertakings (Anderson, 1981; Runyan, 1982; Schultz, 2005b). Thus, the major constraints of psychobiographical inquiries needed to be explored and addressed before undertaking the study.

Arguably, several criticisms surrounding psychobiographical research were truncated from larger debates involving (a) subjectivity and objectivity; (b) holism and reductionism; (c) adequate contextualisation and transhistoricity; and (d) methodological flexibility versus constraint.

Firstly, arguments were posed both for and against the role of subjectivity in qualitative and psychobiographical research (Clark, 2007; Erikson, 1974; Schultz, 2005b). According to Carlson (1988), knowledge about life history and the subjective were especially valuable for personological aims, which is in stark contrast with traditional historical biographers' aims (Clark, 2007). From objectivist camps, the problem involving researchers' subjectivities, biases, and inflated expectations are often reduced to the nomothetic generalisation concerns, which were raised as a limitation in the previous chapter. Many historians avoid psychobiography due to its subjective or interpretive focus on lived lives, as well as researchers' disciplined subjective roles in the research process (Hoffman, 1984). This argument is further explored and addressed in sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.4.

Secondly, holists assume that the whole is essentially irreducible to its parts (Van Wyk, 2011). In this view of individual nature, a human personality is viewed as greater than the sum

of its measurable parts (Freeman, 2005). This view contrasts with those of reductionists, who maintain that the whole is reducible to its constituent parts (Keller, 2019). Therefore, the core of the reductionism-holism debate lies in discovering the gestalts of a phenomenon (Shultz, 2005d). These issues are briefly explored and addressed in sections 5.2.2., 5.2.3., and 5.2.5.

Adequate contextualisation has, thirdly, become an international standard in psychobiographies undertaken (Ponterotto, 2018). The role of the sociocultural, political, and historical worlds in which subjects under inquiry are situated should be considered critically to provide nuance and adequate contextualisation for psychological phenomena such as career development. In addition to the contextual criticism, the role of transhistorical and transcultural interpretation has also been debated (Coetsee, 2017). To illustrate this, Section 5.2.3 explores the implications of transhistorical and transcultural interpretation. Lastly, the critiques of methodological flexibility and constraint are also explored and applied to this study in Section 5.2.5.

In this chapter, the preliminary methodological considerations and challenges facing psychobiographical research are discussed, and various precautionary steps or counterarguments are applied to this study. These debates are combined into critiques and precautions involving (a) subjectivity, researcher bias and expectation inflation, (b) reductionism, (c) decontextualisation, (d) biographical data abundance, evidence inadequacy and absent subjects, and (e) easy genre and elitism. The following sections explore the various critiques and precautions differentially according to these debates.

5.2.1. Researcher subjectivity, bias, and expectation inflation

Psychobiographers are frequently criticised for their subjectivity, bias, and inflated expectations (Burnell et al., 2019; Coetsee, 2017; Knight, 2019). The roles of subjectivity, bias,

and inflated expectations are explored in relation to the overall debates surrounding subjectivity and objectivity in Section 5.2.1.1. Thereafter, the criticisms and steps to counteract or minimise the effect of such limitations are applied to this study in Section 5.2.1.2.

5.2.1.1. Exploring the subjectivity, researcher bias, and expectation inflation precautions.

The Renaissance figure, Leonardo da Vinci is widely acknowledged as Sigmund Freud's first psychobiographical subject (Ponterotto, 2017c). In a tremendous and innovative undertaking, Freud (1910) came to many subjective conclusions that are currently regarded as biased and unscientific (Coetsee, 2017; Fouché, 2015; Kőváry, 2011). Ponterotto (2014) attributed this subjectivity to Freud's overidentification and projection of his unresolved personal conflicts. Despite Freud's (1910) primitive formulation of the subjectivity-objectivity debates that would come to dominate discourses in future qualitative case studies (and psychobiographical) methodologies more than a century later, his awareness of such possible pitfalls did not protect him from violating his own cautionary objections (Clark, 2007; Coetsee, 2017). At present, Freud's biased and subjective account of Da Vinci's life and dreams still hails as a perennial landmark work in developing the humanities, even though its methodology has been severely criticised, expanded, and modified over the last century (Hoffman, 1984).

Due to the in-depth and prolonged nature of psychobiographical studies, some researchers found that subjectivity, and some form of researcher bias is inevitable (Anderson, 1981; Coetsee, 2017; Elms, 1994; Meissner, 2003; Schultz, 2005b). Comparably, nomothetic criticisms against qualitative psychobiographies are often centred around concerns about the objectivity and the role of emotions, personal history, values, and perceptions in psychobiographers' examinations of their subjects (Coetsee, 2017). More specifically, the subjectivity-objectivity debate conflates to an epistemic and axiological difference between

paradigms competing with the constructivist-interpretivist paradigm. However, various authors have cautioned qualitative psychobiographers from conflating bias due to unexamined projections onto their subjects with the inevitable disciplined subjective accounts derived from good psychobiographical practice (Coetsee, 2017; Elovitz, 2003; Erikson, 1974; Meissner, 2003).

The nature of the longitudinal studies of lives inherently requires psychobiographers to form neutral, non-judgemental, and ambivalent attachments to their subjects (Coetsee, 2017; Elovitz, 2003; Ponterotto & Moncayo, 2018). According to Erikson (1974), this subjective-objective middle ground can only be achieved by modified or disciplined subjectivity. Disciplined subjectivity is essential to understanding individuals holistically, and critical evaluations of a psychobiographer's own potential biases are needed for a good psychobiography (Du Plessis, 2016).

According to Van Niekerk et al. (2017), among others, bias or data distortion, including a tendency to idealise or pathologise subjects are limiting factors in psychobiographical studies. Therefore, Edwards (1998) emphasised that descriptions should not be biased in psychobiography. Panelatti (2018) states that this requires psychobiographers to provide detailed descriptions of their observations. Many arguments have been raised to heighten psychobiographer's awareness of not only their personal biases but their methodological biases too (Anderson, 1981; Panelatti, 2018). For example, several researchers recommended the importance of ensuring or documenting possible bias during the data collection phase (Edwards, 1998; Morrow, 2005; Panelatti, 2018). Thus, raw data should be selected and interpreted fairly and genuinely with regard to the psychobiographer's assumptions about emotional investment in and interaction with the subject under study (Panelatti, 2018). Furthermore, a psychobiographer's agenda or bias level may be unspoken or unknown (Panelatti, 2018). To elaborate, the belief in the inherent evil or deviousness of a

psychobiographical subject could taint the researchers' view of the subject just as much as excessive reverence for subjects' supposedly model or respected qualities or achievements could (Panelatti, 2018). If researchers are not aware of or in dialogue with such possible biases, enthusiasms or preferred interpretations, the subjective value of such a study could realise the criticism and fears that nomothetic researchers have posed (Du Plessis, 2016). This implies the importance of introspective and reflective practices, as well as other qualitative trustworthiness strategies (Anderson, 1981; Nell, 2018; Panelatti, 2018).

Several tainted psychobiographies have arisen from inadequate debiasing procedures (Elms, 1988; Panelatti, 2018; Ponterotto, 2014, 2017). Ponterotto (2014) summarised these types as (a) pathographies, (b) degradographies, (c) idealographies, and (d) hagiographies.

Firstly, pathographies are negatively biased or pathology-oriented psychobiographies (Panelatti, 2018; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017). According to Schultz (2005b), pathographies aim to diagnose or reduce subjects to psychopathological explanations at the expense of broader psychological insight and holistic explanations that acknowledge the sociological, cultural, and political influences in the lived experiences of individuals. Often, psychiatric or psychoanalytic knowledge was used to purport such diagnostic pathographies of subjects (Cara, 2007; Elms 1994). The problem is that subjects are not granted enough merit for their strengths or resiliencies (Panelatti, 2018).

For this reason, Anderson (1981a) maintained that researchers do not always realise the extent of their own biases and may unintentionally disparage their subjects. Nell (2018) further articulated this argument by stating that researchers' unconscious motivations influence their view of their subjects, leading to unbalanced countertransference. It could, for example, happen that psychobiographers may believe that they are neutrally theorising their subjects without realising that their choice of theory becomes an expression of their unconscious desires to harm

their subjects due to moral or affective beliefs, evaluations or attitudes (Schultz, 2005c). This type of bias may stem from the psychobiographer's projections due to increasing moral anxiety associated with the ambiguity of studying a full lived life (Falk, 1985).

A second type of biased psychobiography is degradography (Ponterotto, 2017c; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017). Degradographies, according to Manis (1994), are unreliable biographies based on doubtful information such as "derogatory gossip or innuendos of disreputable behaviour" (p. 387). The unwritten aims of such degradographies are often to distort the perception of a historical or public figure and to put their life in disrepute (Manis, 1994). This may be due to what Manis (1994) mentioned sociologists refer to as degradation ceremonies. It seems that researchers of degradographies are often more intentionally aligned to sensation-seeking and scandal because defamation sells easier than truth (Carson & Carson, 1998). However, Manis (1994) not only sees this form of research as problematic but has advocated for the ethical integrity of such pursuits, which extends to the reporting of unverified or defamatory information. Fundamentally, it seems that both pathographers and degradographers share negative views of their subjects, with the distinction lying in the unconscious and conscious efforts to portray or view their subjects as negative, bad or evil. Conversely, idolising or excessively revering subjects presents the same impediments to good practice as degrading or disparaging subjects do (Coetsee, 2017; Panelatti, 2018).

The third type of bias, hagiographies (i.e., summaries of idolatrous, saintly, religious or holy historical figures) differentiate from psychobiography. Excessive reverence of persons by researchers' conscious predilections of the positive aspects of their subjects' lives reveals not only bias but vested interests or agendas too. Finally, idealographies positively skew the narratives of enigmatic, influential, or exemplary subjects due to idealising their characteristics, achievements, or historical impact (Panelatti, 2018; Ponterotto, 2014a, 2107a). This type of idealisation seems to be based on unconscious personal factors and defences such as

idealisation and projections that provide a positively unbalanced view of the subject at the expense of acknowledging the difficulties subjects experienced or had to overcome, their vices or weaknesses. Although individuals who seem worthy of role model status are often idealised, positive bias may creep into psychobiographical practice if researchers do not self-reflect (Falk, 1985; Panelatti, 2018). In contrast with pathographers and degradographers, it seems that both hagiographers and ideolographers fundamentally portray their subjects in positively skewed illuminations (Ponterotto, 2017a). However, the distinction once again lies in the conscious and unconscious efforts to portray or view their subjects as positive (Ponterotto, 2017a).

Ponterotto (2014a) argued for the accurate assessment and balancing of subjects' vices and virtues as a best practice in psychobiographical research. In *Appendix F*, *Table 1* graphically illustrates the main types of bias psychobiographers could encounter. Two rows exist in the table: the conscious and the unconscious. Two columns supplement this, forming a small 4 x 4 grid: positive view of the subject and negative view of the subject. A brief explanation follows Table 1 to explain where these biased forms may arise from.

The subjectivity-objectivity debate further extends to criticisms of inflated expectations. More specifically, fears have surfaced that psychobiographers would approach their studies as panaceaic (Coetsee, 2017; Panelatti, 2018). However, research into this criticism has shown that these fears are unfounded, as psychobiographers and other psychohistorians rarely expect to find all-encompassing grand theories or explanations for historical events (Anderson, 1981).

These inflated expectations often arise from the holistic focus in psychobiographies and create a dilemma for practitioners of psychobiography. On the one hand, psychobiographers should strive for holism: viewing their subjects within their situated milieus and contexts (Anderson, 1981; Stroud, 2004). On the other hand, psychobiographers should acknowledge that their interpretations are primarily psychological in nature and, guided by disciplined

subjectivity, still largely speculative and unconfirmed (Du Plessis, 2016). Nonetheless, psychobiographers have been cautioned to focus not only on psychological factors when conducting a psychobiographical study but also to pay careful attention to the effects of historical, economic, and political forces. Therefore, a fine balance should be sought by psychobiographers by acknowledging the tentative and supplementary nature of their psychological interpretations while acknowledging the importance of a holistic focus (Du Plessis, 2016; Elovitz, 2003; Meissner, 2003; Saccaggi, 2015).

5.2.1.2. Counteracting subjectivity, researcher bias, and expectation inflation in this study

In this study, various strategies were used to counteract and mitigate criticisms posed towards psychobiography. These are briefly discussed in this subsection, and illustrative examples are provided where necessary.

Firstly, since it was acknowledged that no psychological explanation could ever be incontrovertibly true, some authors have suggested that researchers should only regard psychobiographical interpretations based on adequate evidence as plausible and speculative conclusions (Anderson, 1981; Elovitz, 2003; Meissner, 2003). In conjunction with the value of divergent or alternative explanations, the facticity of psychobiographical truth could be understood only by understanding the limitations of subjectivity. Common criticisms against qualitative constructivist informed studies include that such studies cannot claim to be completely objective (Flick, 2018; Morrow, 2005; Mullen, 2019). Therefore, the researcher assumed a disciplined subjective stance during the study and did not regard his findings as absolute or objective truths. In addition to this stance, the researcher also acknowledged the subjectivity in Jane Austen's autobiographical material, biographical material about Jane Austen, and other secondary biographical materials.

Furthermore, instead of claiming grandiose psychological truths about their subjects, collaboratory relationships should be formed with researchers from other fields to enhance or supplement the multitude of explanatory phenomena about their contextualised subjects (Anderson, 1981). However, the researcher also acknowledged and retained the importance of the psychological focus on Jane Austen's life throughout the study.

Secondly, the potential for quality psychobiography lies in researchers' abilities to examine their own attitudes, affects, and beliefs about a subject (Elovitz, 2003). It was also suggested that psychobiographers carefully examine their relations with their subjects and be aware of possible countertransference, including defenses (Anderson, 1981). This position was argued by Erikson (1958, 1968), who maintained that psychobiographical countertransference was inevitable. However, Erikson (1969, 1974) also suggested that if such countertransference were recognised, it could be transfigured into beneficial information about how other people may have reacted in relation to the subject. Once this is realised, self-reflection and disciplined subjectivity could help develop researchers' affective attunement and empathic understanding for their subjects, which ultimately broaden their horizons of understanding.

Other researchers have also emphasised that the difference between idiosyncratic or personal reactions and commonly evoked feelings, attitudes or reactions should be acknowledged (Anderson, 1981; Du Plessis, 2018). Such a distinction is important, as it guides the interpretive hermeneutic of psychobiography. In keeping with the psychoanalytic origins of modern psychobiography, the subjectivity of researchers' countertransference and other psychic defenses onto their subjects are both valuable, although potentially destructive to clinical hermeneutics and good psychobiography (Coetsee, 2017; Kőváry, 2018; Ponterotto & Moncayo, 2018). Therefore, the researcher acknowledged this and took preventative steps, as discussed throughout Chapter 5.3. The following section explores and applies the critiques of reductionism to this study.

5.2.2. Reductionism

Several researchers have warned that reductionism poses various threats to good psychobiography. Section 5.2.2.1. explores the reductionism-holism debate and Section 5.2.2.2. remedies this by applying the solutions to this study.

5.2.2.1. Exploring reductionism

Explaining complex phenomena or processes with singular, linear, causal reasoning constitutes reductionism (Coetsee, 2017). Therefore, if a psychobiographical subject is reduced to singular explanatory models and jargon-filled, grand psychological descriptions, this also constitutes reductionism. In the natural sciences, reductionism was often found as a result of the initial preponderance of positivistic methods to understanding systems by reducing them to constituent parts (Martin & Dawda, 2002).

However, even the natural sciences have since acknowledged that reductionistic inquiry methods cannot adequately explain all aspects of whole complex systems (Fang & Casadevall, 2011; Tecon et al., 2019). Therefore, as individual human nature is acknowledged as a complex system in its own right (i.e., the reason for an idiographic focus), reducing individual psychological phenomena is not sufficient for understanding the aforementioned human nature (Mayer, 2017; Runyan, 1988b; Schultz, 2005a). In psychobiography, such psychological reduction is antithetical to understanding individuals (Schultz, 2005d). Although focusing on the individual is already a redux of the group or collective, as there is always a bigger system than the one trying to be understood, the primary aim of modern single-case psychobiography is to understand persons (Köváry, 2011; Robinson & McAdams, 2015). To some scholars (Slife & Ghelfi, 2019), psychological theories were developed within the realms of ontological

abstraction (i.e., devoid of their contexts); however, psychobiography - with its commitment to understanding individuals in their contexts - is situated in ontological hermeneutics (i.e., individuals cannot be understood in a void of their plural contexts).

Most psychological variables, due to their seemingly abstruse nature, are also subject to uncountable amounts of variability because of unseen variables and interactions which cannot be accounted for. Therefore, it has been argued that no individual or psychological variable could or should ever truly be reduced in the same manner as physical phenomena, as is common in the natural sciences. The reductionism-holism debate has been around for centuries, but social science has drifted from the reductionistic methods of the natural sciences. In this regard, Panelatti (2018) stated that ontological, epistemological, and methodological alternatives to such reductionism need to be acknowledged in psychobiography as it is inappropriate to attempt to understand psychological phenomena reductionistically.

Nevertheless, good quality psychobiography should adopt anti-reductionist attitudes and holism (Runyan, 1984, 1988b, 2019); the word holism derives from the Greek word meaning everything, total, whole or entire (Ralston, 2014). In order to understand this totality of a lived life, psychobiographers should aim to make meaning of the entirety of their subjects' lives, rather than to reduce their subjects to minuscule causal psychological reductions. Holistic psychobiographers should, therefore, appreciate the irreducible interconnectedness of the elements of a whole system or individual (Ralston, 2014). Psychobiographers should aim for holism to reduce the risk of narrowly understanding their subjects and should subsequently be aware of the possible reductionist tendencies characteristic of early psychobiography (Anderson, 1981; Elms, 1994; Howe, 1997; Runyan, 1982, 1988b).

Three forms of reductionism are often found in psychobiographical undertakings: (a) originology, (b) psychobiography by diagnosis, and (c) eventism and the critical period fallacy

(Runyan, 1982, 1988b). The first form of reductionism in psychobiography is originology (Erikson, 1968, 1993, 1994). According to Runyan (1982, 1988b), this term is applicable when psychobiographers reduce their subjects' holistic lives by overemphasising infantile or early childhood traumas, conflicts, events, and experiences, at the expense of understanding an individuals' entire life. Typically, the subjects' later experiences and influences are ignored, neglected or minimised (Anderson, 1981; Runyan, 1988a, 1988b). This was particularly true of early psychobiographies where researchers often reduced individuals' personalities to singular psychodynamic explanations that originated from (often singular) infantile or early childhood experiences (Osorio, 2016). Schultz (2005b) asserted that although such variables are valuable in understanding individuals, it should not constitute the entirety of psychobiographical arguments. This form of reductionism was so frequently found in 20th-century psychobiographies that Erikson (1968, 1993, 1994) referred to as *originology*.

The second form of reductionism often found in psychobiography is what Schultz (2005b) called "psychobiography by diagnosis" (p. 7). Psychobiographers conducted overly-pathologising, static studies without understanding anything about the subject (Runyan, 1988a). Schultz and Lawrence (2017) explained that:

> diagnoses are purely descriptive entities, their job being to simplify, to stand for sets of thoughts, feelings, and actions. They can never be adequately explanatory, and using them in an explicitly explanatory fashion is specious. (p. 444)

Therefore, a diagnostic psychobiographical explanation is proscribed due to the lack of holistic acknowledgement of a subjects' strengths, capacities, creativity, normality, and well-being (Nell, 2018; Runyan, 1988b). Healthy psychological developmental processes and subjects' richness could thus potentially be sidelined by focusing on the pathographic or symptomatic elements (Nel, 2013).

The third common form of reductionism in psychobiography relates to over-deterministic, causal, psychological accounts of individual development that do not acknowledge contextual factors, such as political, social, historical, or cultural factors that may have influenced the subjects' development (Anderson, 1981; Runyan, 1988b). Since its origins, psychology as a field has often been criticised for notoriously psychologising individuals, often with little consideration for the political and contextual influences and constraints in individuals' and groups' lives (Capps, 2004; Runyan, 2013). Therefore, a core difference between social science, as practiced by Émile Durkheim (1897), and psychology, lies in Bolton and Gillet's (2019) methodological individualism. In this view, the agency of individuals in their societies is acknowledged in psychobiographies too. In defence of the psychobiographical interpretations, Runyan (2013) emphasised that at the extreme end of anti-individualistic accounts for human narratives, the political and sociological conditions often shadow the agency and liberty that individuals may have possessed. Therefore, multiple explanations about a subject's life-history may simultaneously be true on various levels of interaction. For this reason, plurality is often cited as an adjunct or substantial mediator in psychobiographical thought, as it allows for holistic accounts to take shape, instead of reducing a subject's life to some aspect of a theory (Elovitz, 2018; Robinson & McAdams, 2015).

Runyan (1981a) also explained that explanatory conjecture helps the generation for possible future research hypotheses that could be tested. Therefore, Sousa (2010) maintained that in contrast to purely reductionist interpretations of phenomena, accounting for indeterminacy can reveal alternative interpretations as well as introduce novelty" (p. 454). Explanatory convergence occurs when multiple or alternative explanations join to supplement the holistic complexity of human experiences (Runyan, 1981a).

Due to the interdisciplinary narrative nature of psychobiography, explanatory convergence due to multiple causality has been demonstrated in psychobiographies frequently (Anderson,

1981; Anderson & Dunlop, 2019; Cara, 2007; Runyan, 2019). In essence, multiple causality is the inevitable variations of psychological causal attributions resulting from conducting psychobiographical studies (Aaltonen, 2007; Runyan, 1981a). For example, Runyan (1981a) explained that up to 10 psychodynamic interpretations could be found for Vincent van Gogh's act of cutting off his ear. Therefore, multiple causes could be traced from the psychobiographical explanations, some being more valid than others, which allowed for the integration of more nuanced and holistic perspectives on Van Gogh's lifespan (Runyan, 1981a).

In returning to the third fallacies, McAdams (2008) explained that critical period fallacies occur when psychobiographers reduce their subjects to overemphasised critical periods at the expense of acknowledging their later formative experiences. Furthermore, McAdams (2008) stated that psychobiographers who reduce their subjects' explanations to singular or limited early traumatic experiences, which seem to guide their subjects' lives, are fallacious in that they are eventist. Following these fallacies, DeVoto (1930) (as cited in Anderson, 1994) noted the following almost a century ago:

> I would add to these "the critical period fallacy," which attempts to build a study of a man's life around a certain "key" period of development, and "eventism," the discovery in some important episode in a man's life of not only the prototype of his behaviour but the turning point in his life from which all subsequent events and work are derived. Both these oversimplifications lend artistic grace to a biographical study but also impose unnatural order, shape, and direction to the often rather amorphous nature and fitful course of a human life, even that of a great man. (pp. 23-24)

Even though reductionism was often present in research that emphasised psychological variables, modern psychobiographers should aim for holistic accounts of their subjects' lives

(Anderson, 1981; Elms, 1994; Howe, 1997; Osorio, 2016; Runyan, 1984, 1988). Researchers who limit their psychobiographical explanation to singular events or critical periods do not provide fair, accurate or holistic assessments of their subjects. Therefore, it was acknowledged that to understand the psychology of Jane Austen's career development throughout her lifespan holistically, adequate contextualisation is necessary.

5.2.2.2. Precautions taken against reductionism in this study

Various precautions have been proposed to counteract psychological reduction (Anderson, 1981; Elms, 1994). Firstly, minimising jargon allows psychobiographers to be more aware of psychological reductionism (Elovitz, 2003). Panelatti (2018) noted that by minimising "the excessive use of esoteric psychological terminology" (p. 253), psychobiographers might become more aware of their lack of psychological description or explanation. This relates to the labeling practice in diagnostic psychobiographies, as sufficient understanding cannot be reached when psychobiographers only aim to provide diagnoses (Runyan, 1982b; Schultz, 2005a, 2005c). Therefore, psychobiographers should aim to understand their subjects, rather than reduce their subject to minimal theoretical discourses or diagnoses (Runyan, 1982a). This also allows for interdisciplinary critique and accessibility, as readers from other fields could gain understanding too. For this reason, the researcher aimed to reduce the use of psychological jargon and rigid labels in the findings.

Anderson (1981a) also advocated for psychobiographers to conduct adequate and thorough research. Therefore, an in-depth literature study on the life of Jane Austen, as well as on Super's (1992, 1996) theory, was undertaken. The researcher immersed himself in publicly available data and literature regarding Jane's and her contemporaries' contexts (Howe, 1997). Various authors have also mentioned that the use of multiple sources of information allows for more

holistic integration of the subject (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005; Ponterotto, 2014; Runyan, 1982; Schultz, 2005b). Furthermore, Du Plessis (2017) argued for the role of iterative and continuous analysis during psychobiography. Kőváry (2011), and Mayer (2017, 2019b) additionally emphasised the importance of interpreting the data cautiously, albeit continuously. As new data emerged, alternative understandings could surface from the data (Runyan, 1981a). Therefore, the researcher attempted to include multiple explanations for emerging questions and aimed to synthesise them into the most coherent and complex form. The researcher also allowed for thorough reinterpretation to allow the holistic complexity of Jane Austen's life to be described in its complexity.

In this study, arguments based on any single datum were not regarded as sufficient for description or understanding (Schultz, 2005a; Stannard, 1980). Schultz (2005a) further explained that to write quality psychobiographies, researchers should be aware of potential inclinations towards basing entire arguments on interesting or novel pieces of data. Therefore, a commitment to multiple sources, and multiple explanations was upheld in this study.

Psychobiographers have been urged to aim for contextual, complex, nuanced, and often ambivalent understandings of their subjects, as such descriptions are much more likely to be holistic than the former practice (Anderson, 1981; Elms, 1994). Furthermore, the holes in reductionistic psychobiographical argumentation are also filled when potentially pathographic accounts of subjects are balanced via supplementing psychobiographical accounts with theories that emphasise the strengths or virtues (Mayer, 2017). For example, Elms (1994) found that if approaches that focus on normality or healthy development are applied to psychobiographical subjects, many of the difficulties associated with psychobiographical reductionism could be averted. This is called the eugraphic approach (Elms, 1994; Fouché, 1999). For this reason, a non-pathology orientated theory was chosen to examine Jane Austen's career development without a high risk for theory-driven hagiography or pathography to dominate the findings. In

the following section, precautions against decontextualisation in psychobiography is addressed and subsequently applied to this study.

5.2.3. Decontextualisation.

In this section, precautions are raised against decontextualisation. This is done by exploring the role of contextual, cultural, and historical considerations in psychobiographical research in Section 5.2.3.1. This section could largely be understood by considering the debates about reductionism, contextualisation, and transhistoricity in this exploration. Section 5.2.3.2. applies these criticisms to this study.

5.2.3.1. Exploring contextual, cultural, and historical considerations

Social scientists, and psychobiographers alike, typically argue that human experience cannot be removed from its contexts (Panelatti, 2018; Runyan, 1982, 1988c). Furthermore, an individual's context is boundaried by his or her fluctuating and dynamic time, space, culture, political and socio-economic circumstances (Ponterotto et al., 2015). Therefore, various layers of context should be unfolded in the research process to guide historical analysis (Fouché & Holz, 2015; Runyan, 1982; 1988b). This is especially important in qualitative research due to concerns of the adequate ontological representation of historical figures (Anderson, 1988).

It is acknowledged that certain aspects of society change, although others remain the same over time (Nowak & Vallacher, 2019). In addition, all individuals are alike; some like others and unlike any others (Kluckhohn & Murray, 1953). Therefore, the generality or specificity of psychological theory applied across temporal or cultural boundary is an especially considerable issue (Panelatti, 2018).

Regardless, issues of continuity and change in social science research are debated with increased frequency in social science literature (Panelatti, 2018). These issues, paired with debates regarding similarity or generality and difference, diversity, and specificity create controversial divides in how social science is conducted (Gantt et al., 2016). According to Runyan (1988c), some social scientists from deterministic traditions have maintained that only social forces, such as the cultural, political, economic, and social contexts in which individuals live, intersect to shape individuals. Therefore, the individuality of experience cannot be as unique as it is sometimes assumed (Frie & Coburn, 2011). Psychobiographers, with their focus on individual psychologies, are therefore at risk of decontextualising their subjects erroneously in three ways (Anderson, 1981; Du Plessis, 2018; Elms, 1994; Ponterotto, 2014; Runyan, 1984).

The first decontextualisation critique relates to subjects' and researchers' cultural contexts. Psychobiographers who fail to acknowledge the contextual nuance in individual experience implicitly assume affective, behavioural, and cognitive similarity between individuals across settings and histories (Oosthuizen, 2018). However, it has been argued that a failure to acknowledge such differences results in ethnocentrism (Anderson, 1981; Du Plessis, 2018; Ponterotto, 2014; Runyan, 1984). Thus, ethnocentric psychological accounts of individual lives bias the understandings of individual experiences by assuming that all cultures universally share essential fundamental developmental patterns and experiences (Stannard, 1980). Furthermore, ethnocentric psychobiography assumes that subjects' and researchers' cultures are principally non-differentiable from one another, which is often not the case (Anderson, 1981; Elms, 1994). However, psychobiographers are also at risk of generalising their subjects' cultures by assuming that just because their subjects lived in specific cultures, they must share the cultural traits of said cultures (Howard, 2003). This comes at the expense of potentially

understanding the mores, norms, and values that were adopted in an individual's context (Anderson, 1981; Elms, 1994; Ponterotto, 2014).

Social scientists have long maintained that there exists more variance within cultures than between cultures (Baumeister et al., 2018). Therefore, merely attributing characteristics or experiences to cultural variables does not constitute adequate contextualisation. Furthermore, committing such an error would mean that the agentic and performative idiosyncrasies of individual lives in context are not acknowledged or deemed important to the psychobiographer (Runyan, 2013).

A second criticism psychobiographers are vulnerable to regarding decontextualisation is the assumption of the transhistoricity of experience and temporocentrism (Anderson, 1981; Du Plessis, 2018; Perry, 2012; Ponterotto, 2014; Runyan, 1984). Gibson (2019) asserted that assuming the shared temporality of experience is risky and uncritical in psychobiography. In reality, psychobiographers often conduct their studies on temporally distant subjects who have lived in completely different millennia (Ponterotto, 2014). Thus, Runyan (1984) maintained that temporocentrism is problematic. This critique arose from the observation that psychobiographers often use contemporary or historically inapplicable theories to attempt to understand their subjects (Ponterotto, 2014; Runyan, 1997).

Although many theorists have proclaimed that some grand or modern theories transcend time, space, and culture, this is more often not the case than it is (Anderson, 1981). For example, psychodynamic theorists often dogmatically assume that their theories are applicable to persons across cultures, historical periods, and geographic borders (Anderson, 1981). Furthermore, uncritically or invalidly applying certain theories to individuals is a haphazard practice. This is also disrespectful and relates to the elitism critiques that are raised in Section 5.2.5. Psychobiographers who do this also risk misappropriating theory onto their subjects

(Oosthuizen, 2018). This not only distorts such a psychobiographer's view but cannot lead to an adequate and contextualised understanding of the subjects' lived experience (Anderson, 1981; Elms, 1994; Ponterotto, 2014).

Therefore, psychobiographers, who often conduct their studies on individuals who are not their contemporaries, should be wary of their theoretical applications, situating their studies within socio-political, cultural, economic, and historical contexts (Anderson, 1981; Burnell, 2013; Coetsee, 2017; Elms, 1994; Oosthuizen, 2018; Runyan, 1984). This is especially true when using contemporary theories or aggrandising theories (Anderson, 1981; Fouché, 1999; Panelatti, 2018; Runyan, 1982, 1988b). Furthermore, it becomes culturally insensitive to do so and, once again, seems to assume generality (etic) rather than cultural or historical specificity (emic), as the holistic value of psychobiographical description is lost in such pursuits (Ponterotto, 2002; Runyan, 2019).

However, the holistic complexity of psychobiographical subjects' lives cannot be understood if researchers remain parochial or decontextualised (Stannard, 1980). It naturally follows that psychological phenomena cannot be understood in want of its contexts (Morrow, 2005; Wright & Bechtel, 2007). Therefore, it could also be stated that a contextualising attitude is necessary for constructivist-interpretivist psychobiography due to ontological authentication, which implies that researchers should embody critically inclusive and empathetic multi-culturally sensitive and historical attitudes in their interpretations (Anderson, 1981; Burnell, 2013; Du Plessis, 2016; Elms, 1994; Runyan, 1984; Schwandt et al., 2007). Therefore, Ponterotto (2014) and Ponterotto and Reynolds (2019) stated that the challenge of temporal distance between researchers and their subjects remains to adequately understand their subjects' truths as they were situated in their indigenous historical and cultural contexts.

5.2.3.2. Precautions against decontextualisation in this study

Several strategies have been proposed to reduce the impact of potential temporal distances between psychobiographers and their subjects and address cross-cultural concerns (Cara, 2007; Ponterotto, 2014). These solutions aim to balance the criticisms of the generality vs specificity of psychological theories, as well as decontextualisation issues through advancing multiculturalism (Burman, 2015; Ponterotto, 2014). It has been noted that often psychobiographies endorse 21st-century values uncritically, therefore, the core values of a subject's context should be explored in relation to potentially disparate values (Anderson, 1981; Ponterotto, 2014). Psychobiographers have often fallen into the trap of accidental decontextualisation by forcing certain contemporary theories onto their subjects (Anderson, 1981; Louw, 2017; Runyan, 1984; Stroud, 2004). Runyan (1982, 1988c) also noted that this consideration could be averted by having thorough psychological, biographical, and contextual knowledge.

Elms (1994) advocated for developing and maintaining empathy with the psychobiographical subject, particularly if similarities and differences between the subject and the psychobiographer become apparent. Other authors have added that empathic understanding should be culturally informed (Anderson, 1981; Ponterotto & Moncayo, 2018). Many researchers also found that if enough information is available and empathy is sustained during the research process, psychobiographers are able to understand, affectively attune to, and describe the experiences of their subjects more completely, despite possible differences in ethnicity, gender, culture, upbringing, roles and religions (Burnell, 2013; Du Plessis, 2016; Human, 2015; Louw, 2017; Panelatti, 2018). This empathic understanding further allows psychobiographers to become more competent scholars of their subjects' epochs (Anderson, 1981; Runyan, 1984; Ponterotto, 2014).

In order to combat the cultural effects of studying an individual life within his or her context, authors such as Anderson (1981a) and Flores and Obasi (2003) have advocated for the adoption of an emic approach to psychobiography. According to Burnell (2013) and Panelatti (2018), in the emic approach, psychobiographers should strive towards in-depth understandings and perspectives from individuals from the subject's cultures. With regards to understanding psychobiographical subjects within their socio-cultural-historical contexts, Ponterotto (2013, 2014) advocated using Hiller's (2011) graphic methodology. In this Multi-Layered Chronological Chart (MLCC), the subject's life space is presented in chronological order horizontally, while the domain-specific axis is presented vertically (Panelatti, 2018). In this vertical axis, various important historical, familial or political events can be traced horizontally in conjunction with the subjects' life unfolding. Therefore, the subject's context can be explored adequately, while the individual's life story remains central (Hiller, 2011).

The critiques described in this chapter have also led to the expansion of psychobiographical practice and additional guidelines (Ponterotto, 2013a). Due to the inherently interdisciplinary nature of psychobiography, some psychobiographers have suggested that scholars from other fields should be consulted to gain more adequate contextualisation and understanding. Therefore, biographers, historians, linguists, musicologists, journalists, and biographers could be asked to provide input into the challenges in the psychobiographical process (Ponterotto, 2013a, 2013b).

In this study, the socio-historical context that Jane Austen was situated in was explored in-depth. Therefore, economic, social, political, and cultural contexts were thoroughly presented in the literature review on Jane Austen's life and times. The researcher also immersed himself in research and other works from Jane's historical period and geographies. Special consideration was given to the roles of gender, family, law, education, and economy in Austenian society, as well as various other intersections. This is because the researcher of this

psychobiography's world was vastly different from Jane's. Reflective notes also helped the researcher to document possible biases or countertransferential reactions in the research process, as well as to develop and maintain empathy for Jane Austen.

Regarding the transhistorical applications of theory, the researcher acknowledged that Super's life-span model of career development was developed throughout the 20th century. Furthermore, it is acknowledged that Super's (1980) model was initially developed to explore the temporal and developmental aspects of multidimensional careers. However, Super (1980, 1990) later expanded his theoretical conceptualisations by emphasising contextual, personal, and situational determinants for individuals' life-roles and career constructions. The stages in Super's (1957) career theory have also been noted to be cross-culturally valid even though racial or ethnic image norms, barriers, and opportunities often complicate individual career decisions (Fouad & Bryars-Winston, 2005; Giannantonio & Hurley-Hanson, 2011; Stead & Watson, 2017). Therefore, the disadvantaged position that psychobiographers often find themselves in while conducting temporally distant psychobiographies were not as expressed in this study. It should also be noted that this case study provided a unique opportunity to test and potentially expand Super's life-span developmental career theory on a female from a historically different context.

5.2.4. Biographical data abundance, evidence inadequacy, and absent subjects.

The roles of subjectivity and objectivity in psychobiography have been addressed in the previous subchapters; however, critics have questioned the management of subjectivity and objectivity practically. In Section 5.2.4.1., various difficulties relating to the abundance of data, the lack of evidence, and the lack of physical contact with psychobiographical subjects are explored. These concerns are addressed in Section 5.2.4.2.

5.2.4.1. Considering the dilemma of data abundance, evidence inadequacy, and the absent subject

In his study of Martin Luther, Erik Erikson (1958, 1962) reconstructed information about Luther's relationship with his mother by inventing this early relationship (Runyan, 1988e). Although Erikson appeared to do so relatively responsibly, he assumptively may have based this reconstructed relationship on the basis that Luther may have repeated his childhood behaviours in his adulthood, despite having inadequate evidence to do so (Runyan, 1988a, 1988b, 1988c). Erikson's dilemma is frequently seen in early psychobiographies: the subject under study has long been deceased and can not be questioned. However, relevant evidence in critical time periods may not be available to researchers, despite seemingly infinite amounts of information about historically significant individuals (Du Plessis, 2017). Furthermore, sifting through such data requires copious discipline from its researcher to not unintentionally abject critical data, while the feasibility of reading through every single datum available about a subject seems almost absurd (Elms, 1994). Therefore, psychobiography is often linked to an art form, instead of a scientific practice, with Erikson (1950) even stating that he: "came to psychology from art, which may ... justify, the fact that at times [readers] will find [him] painting contexts and backgrounds where [they] would rather have [him] point to facts and concepts" (p. 13).

Similar to psychoanalysis, psychobiography is both a science and an art (Schultz, 2005d). Psychobiographers should adhere to guidelines which allow for the competent and scholarly collection and management of their data from various sources (Alexander, 1988; Elms, 1994; Panelatti, 2018; Simonton, 1999), and strive towards achieving artistic merit in well-written psychobiographies. While conducting psychobiographical inquiries, finding a balance between the scientific and artistic merits could become challenging in light of the profusion of available

data (Shultz, 2005d). Additional concerns are raised when one considers that at times, the data required for sought-after psychobiographical interpretations may not be available or sufficient due to limited or potentially no access to relevant data (Elms, 1988).

The life histories of deceased, historically significant individuals are often contained within the proliferous amount of autobiographical, biographical, contextual, and other archival information available about individuals and their contexts (Du Plessis, 2015; Elms, 1994). For example, primary sources of data such as memoirs, diary entries, letters, autobiographies, drawings, poems, plays or other artifacts produced by a subject could reveal significant subjective data about subjects' life stories (Elms, 1994; Panelatti, 2018; Yin, 2018). Other secondary data such as articles written about subjects, biographies, literary criticism, and other secondary accounts of events involving subjects could reveal much more nuance and understanding about subjects or their contexts (Elms, 1994; Ponterotto, 2018). In cases of recently deceased individuals, interviews can be conducted with persons who knew the subject well (Ponterotto, 2018). Fortunately, there may be enormous and copious amounts of easily accessible data available to researchers about public or historically significant figures (Saccaggi, 2015). Psychobiographers often refer to this problem as having to sift through a seemingly infinite amount of biographical data about their subjects (McAdams, 1988).

Therefore, researchers are required to reduce, organise, extract and analyse the relevant historical and biographical data into small, manageable amounts and accurate accounts of the individual's life (Alexander, 1988; Baxter & Jack, 2008; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Schultz, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c). According to Saccaggi (2015), this is not only a practical consideration but a necessary one, due to the reality that the criteria for data inclusion or exclusion directly influence the conclusions that could be validly inferred by researchers.

Furthermore, this important issue truncates to an oxymoronic consideration of methodological flexibility and constraint (Capps, 2010; Panelatti, 2018). On the one hand, psychobiographers are required to scan through a profuse amount of source data regarding not only their subjects' lives but also their subjects' historical milieus (Elms, 1994; Panelatti, 2018). The nature of psychobiography requires researchers to obtain extensive amounts of information to amply immerse themselves in the possibilities or uncovered narratives that the data may present (Ponterotto & Moncayo, 2018). Therefore, researchers of psychobiographical case methodologies (arguably, other qualitative research methodologies too) should remain methodologically flexible enough to allow themselves to inductively explore, describe, and understand their data holistically. Researchers should also present their data uniquely for their case studies to have value, therefore, divergence from previous or similar inquiries is necessary for a good case study. This also enhances the artistic merit of psychobiographical inquiry (Abella, 2016). Robinson and McAdams (2015) further added that the process of abduction in qualitative studies is crucial due to relevant questions emerging as researchers familiarise themselves with more data. Although this sounds logical, the management of such data is frequently scrutinised by critics because psychobiographers could lack systematic data reduction skills (Elms, 1994; Ponterotto, 2019b).

Psychobiographers should aim to contribute to the scientific understanding of their subjects while contributing to psychological theory via analytic generalisation (Wannenburg & Van Niekerk, 2018). It has been found that, although the amount of data produced about her life and works seem to grow exponentially, just reading through every text written about and by an influential author such as Jane Austen could take many years. Therefore, it seems rational to conclude that much of this data would corroborate with other available data to form a possibly coherent narrative. In order to converge such data into coherent linear parts, according to naturalistic inquiry traditions, thus requires triangulating the relevant data (Lincoln & Guba,

1985, 2000; Schwandt et al., 2007; Yin, 2018). Regardless, Elms (1994) maintained that collecting as much information about a subject from as many sources as possible enhances the accuracy of interpretations and allows for the cancelation of potentially inaccurate or biased data, resulting in a more objective narrative of the subject to surface from the available literature. Other problems have also emerged due to a lack of psychobiographical constraint and objectivity.

Despite the abundance of data available to psychobiographers, critics often argue that psychobiographers may be disadvantaged due to their analysis of typically deceased and absent subjects who cannot be questioned face to face (Anderson, 1981; Du Plessis, 2016; Panelatti, 2018; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017; Runyan, 1988a; Schultz, 2005b). Furthermore, due to the lack of direct contact with their subjects (as would be available in psychotherapeutic contact), psychobiographers may have a sparsity of data, which may lead to inadequate or inaccurate interpretations (Anderson, 1981; Gatzke, 1973; Runyan, 1982, 1988b; Schultz, 2005c). Therefore, the precise and focused material that is obtainable via psychotherapeutic interaction between clients and their psychotherapists are not available to psychobiographers - which leads to chance clues and associations that limit the psychobiographical potential understanding of their subjects' experiences (Barzun, 1974). For example, Barzun (1974) and Runyan (1988a) stated that psychobiographers might infrequently obtain dream or free association material that has been proclaimed by some as the paths to the unconscious. In addition, psychobiographers often have no or strikingly limited access to what Runyan (1988a) referred to as bedroom, bathroom or nursery experiences. Thus, data relating to subjects' intimate spaces and experiences are not likely to be abundant. However, it may be required for extensive structuralist or psychodynamic accounts of a subjects' development. Even though psychobiographical subjects cannot be physically transferred to psychoanalysts' couches, psychobiographers need to transport and imagine their notional couches being filled with their

subjects' lives (Runyan, 1981a). Such information can only be accessed by written documents or memorialised material about subjects that survive the subjects (Runyan, 1981a). Therefore, Runyan (1988a) asserted that psychobiographers might never hope to obtain more information than would be possible with present, living clients in psychotherapy.

It is also widely accepted that collateral information is often important to understanding clients in therapeutic settings, especially with unreliable informants (Köváry, 2018; Johnson, 2019). However, psychobiographers are privileged to accessing large amounts of information regarding subjects from sources other than the subjects themselves, such as in publicly available documents and biographies, as well as from their subjects' significant peers, family members or colleagues (Anderson, 1981; Elms, 1994; Fouché, 1999; Panelatti, 2018; Runyan, 1982, 1988). Researchers often allude to the role of therapeutic ethics, with the therapeutic alliance, as well as the client's privacy and confidentiality being upheld due to potential power imbalances between the therapist and the client, which may potentially harm the client (Carlson, 1988; Du Plessis, 2016; Elms & Song, 2005). Although these considerations are also extremely important to psychobiographers, the nature of psychobiographical case study on deceased individuals of note requires veering intentionally from some of the more traditionally constrained ethics (see Section 5.3. for a further discussion on psychobiographical ethics).

However, the precise problematic distance between psychobiographers and their subjects may provide more objectivity and accuracy in research findings than would be possible otherwise (Burnell, 2013; Du Plessis, 2016). According to Panelatti (2018), psychobiographers often have access to a variety of other creative material, which was produced by their subjects, such as speeches or caricatures, allowing them to cautiously make inferences about their subjects' inner worlds (Runyan, 1982, 1988). Decades ago, Anderson (1981) also found that psychobiographers have clear and distinct advantages over psychotherapists; Runyan (1988a, 1988b, 1988c) identified one such advantage as the public availability of evidence that allows

other researchers to criticise and propose alternatives to be tested or explored, whereas psychoanalysts are restricted by their professional responsibilities.

Panelatti (2018) presented a counterargument to the potential inadequacy of evidence in psychobiographies. The longitudinal nature of psychobiography allows for a unique retrospective account of a lived life in its entirety, which no other acknowledged research methodologies, other than case study methods, provide (Robinson & McAdams, 2015). Therefore, the final resolution of a narrative personality could be assessed in psychobiography, which researchers are not able to do with individual lives in progress (Panelatti, 2018). Furthermore, it has been emphasised that well-researched longitudinal investigations such as psychobiography provide unique opportunities to examine subjects in more balanced and nuanced narratives (Anderson, 1981; Du Plessis, 2016).

5.2.4.2. Counteracting the abundance of data and possible inadequacy of evidence in this study

Psychobiographers are forced into a unique double bind. Psychobiographers have been awarded enormous flexibility due to the profusion of data available to them about their subjects. However, they may be restricted by inadequate data and their subjects' absence for their sought-after interpretations (Mayer, 2019b). Therefore, psychobiographers rely on methodological strategies to achieve their disciplined subjective stance. Fortunately, pioneers in the advancement of modern psychobiographies have developed several unique tools for longitudinal life-history research in psychology (Alexander, 1988, 1990; Anderson, 1981; Köváry, 2019; Mayer, 2019a, 2019b; McAdams, 1994, 1996; Schultz, 2005a).

Despite the possible unavailability or inadequacy of relevant evidence for extremist interpretations in psychobiography, psychobiographers asking questions relevant to the

available data could transform how certain subjects have traditionally been portrayed (Du Plessis, 2016; Panelatti, 2018; Runyan, 1982, 1988). Runyan (1982, 1988a) suggested that the theories used to understand a psychobiographical subject's life should therefore fit the available data adequately, or else the inferences could become highly subjective and inadequately conjectured.

Kőváry (2011) further alluded to solutions to the double bind dilemma by explaining that focused data collection and critical thinking would enhance methodological rigour. Accordingly, several strategies have been developed by methodologists to manage the extraction and organisation of relevant data from numerous sources systematically (Alexander, 1988, 1990; Anderson, 1981; Kőváry, 2011; McAdams, 1994, 1996; Schultz, 2005a). Although several extraction methodologies exist, only some of the most frequently used methodologies are briefly outlined.

Silvan Tomkins (1962, 1963, 1979), the originator of Script Theory, proposed a narrative method to identify relevant biographical data of psychological import. This model comprises scenes and scripts (Schultz & Lawrence, 2017). Scenes are primary units of analysis that are affectively loaded, specific life events, whereas scripts are the life-themes that connect such scenes (Schultz & Lawrence, 2017; Tomkins, 1979). When psychobiographers extract their data by focusing on multiple affectively amplified scenes, major script clusters could become apparent (Tomkins, 1962, 1963, 1991).

William Todd Schultz (2003, 2005a, 2005b) maintained that prototypical scenes should guide psychobiographers to identify and understand the most relevant life-story events. Five markers are utilised to identify such prototypical scenes (Schultz, 2005b). According to Kövári (2011), these are "emotional intensity, interpenetration, developmental crisis, family conflict, and throwness" (p. 760).

Dan McAdams' (1994, 1996) narrative approach to identity presented unique reformations in the way data could be collected and organised. In this approach, a subject's unfolding and continuous life-story should be discovered and created as the story is told by the subject (McAdams, 1994, 1996). This narrative approach is often collaboratively employed with other overlapping methods, such as Alexander's indicators of salience, which could be used as rules to discern or create a subject's life story. According to Panelatti (2018), subjects' identities are seen as dependent on how they made sense of their "reconstructed pasts, perceived presents and anticipated futures" (p. 263). McAdams' (1988) model rests on the collection of data that relate to subjects' (a) ideological settings; (b) imagoes (characters); (c) nuclear episodes; and (d) generativity scripts. Thus, McAdams' (1988) strategy involved collecting and organising information about subjects through analysing themes or motives and narrative complexity in subjects' stories (Kőváry, 2011).

Schultz and Lawrence (2017) also noted that McAdams' (2010) theoretical approach is subject to three levels of personality: (a) traits, (b) characteristic adaptations, and (c) stories. Firstly, biographical data are reduced to trait analysis, in which traits (e.g., Big Five traits) can be examined in various ways and seek inter-rater reliability. Secondly, characteristic adaptations are determined by examining a subject's expression of his or her concrete endogenous tendencies (McAdams, 2005; Schultz & Lawrence, 2017). According to McAdams (1995, 2005), these presumptively independent characteristic adaptations are context-bound expressions of typical or atypical behaviours or reactions, for example, habits. Therefore, ‘out of character’ or inconsistent reactions are explored and analysed (Schultz & Lawrence, 2017). Data that this relates to, for example, typical-habitual or atypical-uncharacteristic reactions, would consequently be characterised as important but examined within the specific context it occurred. According to Scultz and Lawrence (2017), the third level of analysis, the story or personal myth, is "post-hoc constructions we compose as a way

of explaining who we are, micro or macro theories of self" (p. 440). Therefore, life themes are organised to create a full narrative that coherently synthesises multiple aspects of an individual's life story (McAdams, 2010). Such life-themes are important as they produce gestalts combined with the other two levels of personality analysis (Schultz, 2005b; Schultz & Lawrence, 2017).

Alternatively, Anderson (1981) suggested that a split-half approach should be employed to ensure the accuracy of the collected data. It was suggested that the data should be separated into two halves, namely published and unpublished data (Anderson, 1981). Cyclically comparing these two halves during a study allows psychobiographers to test and evaluate running hypotheses as the study progresses (Anderson, 1981; McAdams, 2005).

Irving Alexander (1988, 1990) suggested two interrelated methods to extract and reduce psychobiographical data. Firstly, he proposed that researchers should question their data. This allows for significant reductions in the amount of data as new questions are refined while allowing for new questions to emerge as the data is collected (Ponterotto, 2014). According to Alexander (1988, 1990), questioning the data also allows researchers to organise their data according to the potential answers generated from these questions. Secondly, nine indicators of psychological saliency were proposed to further aid with extracting and organising psychologically relevant data (Alexander, 1988, 1990). These are primacy, frequency, emphasis, distortion or error, negation, omission, isolation, uniqueness, and incompletion (Alexander, 1990). According to McAdams (1994), these indicators could help psychobiographers to generate the central life-story of their subjects. In this study, the researcher employed these two data reduction strategies discussed in more depth in Chapter 6. However, the data asked various questions relating to Jane Austen's career development and influence. Furthermore, the data were systematically revealed by utilising Alexander's (1988, 1990) primary indicators of psychological salience.

Several additional strategies were employed to minimise the concern of Jane Austen as an absent subject. Even Freud (1910), who famously failed to follow his own guidelines frequently, noted that amid having no access to a couched analysand, multiple sources should be used to collect data by and about the subject. Furthermore, the collected data should be evaluated and scrutinised by psychobiographers to ascertain whether the data are biased before inclusion into the larger data set. Therefore, vast amounts of literature relating to and by Jane Austen and her historical milieu were collected and evaluated during this study.

The use of hermeneutic models has also been suggested by some researchers to guide psychobiographical interpretations (Anderson, 1981; Cara, 2007; Du Plessis, 2017; Köváry, 2009a, 2009b, 2011, 2018; Mayer, 2017; Mayer & Maree, 2017; Ponterotto, 2014). As an intangible strategy for data interpretation, Cara (2007) stated that written sources could be examined and interpreted, despite the lack of actual contact with the subject. Therefore, the researcher employed a form of hermeneutic practice, proposed by Dilthey (1996, 2004) and Gadamer (2004). The use of such a hermeneutic circle also contributed to the management and analysis of copious amounts of data, as Köváry (2011) explained:

> We have to keep in mind that in the genre of psychobiography, the research process is iterative. 'Instead of cumulating every possible bit of data in one big pile, then pulling conclusions out of that pile, a conscientious psychobiographer will engage a more or less continuous process of examining preliminary data' – says Elms (2007, p. 103). So we have to apply further operations in iterative analysis. On the basis of preliminary data, we formulated tentative hypotheses, then we were looking for justifying or refuting data to narrow or shift the focus of the hypothesis. Now we can look for further evidence (independent from the data that were the basis of tentative hypotheses): this will justify, refute, narrow or modify our assumptions again. (p. 762)

It was, therefore, acknowledged that the disciplined empathic subjectivity expounded by the researcher in the process of conducting this study was guided by the hermeneutic tradition (Köváry, 2011). However, the textual material and data used in the study were assumed to be real phenomena that could be explored, described, and interpreted by the researcher (Köváry, 2011; Steele, 1979).

Various books have been written about the Austen family (e.g., Austen-Leigh, 1871, 1926; Le Faye, 1995, 2002, 2004, 2011, 2014; Southam, 2001). Many of these books were consulted during the study to create a narrative portrait of Jane Austen's life story and career development. Furthermore, Jane Austen's published letters to her sister, Casandra, and other individuals were used as primary source material for the investigation. Her novels and short stories were also evaluated as these were the direct output of her career opus. Several secondary sources were also used to triangulate the data. In addition, various articles ranging from literary criticism to biographical details around Jane Austen's reported illness were collected, evaluated, and reviewed. The researcher also studied various movies and documentaries about, based on, or adapted from Jane Austen's works during the study (see *Appendix E*).

5.2.5. Easy Genre and Elitism

In the following sections, methodological flexibility and constraint are invariably discussed regarding major critiques that psychobiography is an elitist or easy endeavour. Section 5.2.5.1. explores these critiques, while Section 5.2.5.2. shows applications to this study.

5.2.5.1. Exploring the easy genre and elitism critiques

That psychobiography is an elitist, easy genre of soft research has been repeated so many times that it could be considered a truism (Osorio, 2016; Panelatti, 2018; Runyan, 1988b; Stroud,

2004). Even though psychobiographers have been accused of narrowly selecting privileged individuals as research subjects (Osorio, 2016), this is not the case.

Some authors have critiqued that there is a dearth of ordinary subjects in the psychobiography literature (Du Plessis, 2016; Simonton, 1982; Runyan, 1982; 1988a). However, allowing for such subject aggregation ignores the precise aims of conducting psychobiography, and mere interest value in ordinary individuals does not equate to virtue (Runyan, 1988a; Simonton, 1999). For example, the primary source material that has been produced by creative individuals provides unique opportunities to systematically study remarkable phenomena that cannot be studied as extensively as in ordinary individuals (Panelatti, 2018; Schultz, 2005c, 2006). This, in conjunction with the data needed to describe, explain or interpret psychobiographical phenomena adequately, renders this criticism obsolete. It could further be argued that due to the extensive ethical problems (i.e., confidentiality, privacy, harm, and embarrassment) that may arise from conducting such research on ordinary individuals, it would be harmful and irresponsible to attempt such subject profiling (see Section 5.3. for a further exploration of psychobiographical ethics). Therefore, it would be irresponsible and possibly malicious to conduct psychobiographical work on ordinary individuals unless extensive care has been taken to deidentify and anonymise the individuals, and if social justice aims have been balanced (Johnson, 2019).

Other elitism perceptions include that subjects are often chosen based on psychobiographers' unrealised preoccupations with individuals from higher social classes (Du Plessis, 2016; Panelatti, 2018). However, this is certainly not true. Numerous researchers have emphasised that the choice of psychobiographical subject is based on the extraordinary, prolific, eminent, exemplary, enigmatic, unique, contentious or influential attributes of their subjects' personalities, not their subjects' socioeconomic statuses or social classes (Carlson, 1988; Du Plessis, 2016; Fouché & Holz, 2015; Howe, 1997; Ponterotto, 2017a; Runyan,

1988b). The holistic nature of psychobiography should further heed warning to psychobiographers who uncritically reduce their subjects to such superficial criteria. Panelatti (2018) aldo stated that many psychobiographical studies had been conducted on "criminals, drug addicts and psychotic killers", ranging from all social classes (p. 259). When subjects are not selected based on their social classes, but their personality characteristics, their social classes may contribute contextual nuance to their cases (Runyan, 1988a). Therefore, this criticism seems to reflect an inherent lack of understanding of the value of studying historically significant individuals' ideographically (Landsberg, 2019). Nevertheless, it is also true that many psychobiographies were initially conducted on socially elite, powerful, authoritative, famous, and enigmatic individuals (Manganyi, 1983; McAdams, 1988). However, such concerns have been addressed in psychobiographical literature, and scholars have heeded previous concerns about elitism (see Chapter 4).

McAdams (1988) mentioned that the choices of psychobiographical subjects have diversified. Researchers have conducted literature reviews of psychobiographies undertaken in South African postgraduate programmes and abroad (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Ponterotto, 2015). Fouché and Van Niekerk (2010) have found that there has been a diversification of psychobiographical subjects over the past 30 years, with particular diversification in subject's genders, ethnicities, and occupations. This may render many aspects of such elitism critiques antiquated.

It has been argued that subject choice did not represent the only form of elitism in psychobiography (Runyan, 1988a). Interpretations in qualitative psychobiography could be considered elitist if subjects are unnecessarily elevated by researchers (Osorio, 2016). Furthermore, Manganyi (1983) found that high-status individuals often became heroised or mounted on cultural pedestals due to the potential effects of stereotyping or cultural transference in the forms of idealisation and personality objectification. Therefore,

psychobiographers were cautioned to gain self-insight and examine their roles in representing their subjects (Manganyi, 1983). Human (2015) further reinforced this argument by stating that researchers should ensure that their "preconceptions or prejudices [did] not mar the process of gathering and contextualising the data" (p. 242).

Psychobiographers have also been subject to criticism due to the apparent ease of the methodology (Runyan, 2005a). However, some authors have argued that producing quality, comprehensive psychobiography thoroughly grounded in the data requires tremendous effort and determination (Elms, 1994; Runyan, 1988; Schultz, 2005c, 2005d). In this regard, McAdams (1994) asserted that literary skill, thorough psychological knowledge, and enormous amounts of data are needed.

5.2.5.2. Addressing the easy genre and elitism critiques prior to this study

In remedy of elitism and easy genre critiques, some authors have suggested precautions for psychobiographical research (Elms, 1994; Saccaggi, 2015). For example, the impact of elitism could be averted if research subjects were not elevated in psychobiographical interpretation (Osorio, 2016; Runyan, 1988d, 1988e).

Jane Austen was chosen for this study based on her characteristics and achievements, not due to her seemingly elite status. Furthermore, Jane lived in a historical milieu that dominantly oppressed women in terms of educational, property ownership, and social rights (Abdulhaq, 2016). Further, her status as modern cultic heroin appears irrelevant as she enjoyed little profit from her opus during her lifetime. During her lifespan, although her then four novels were relatively popular, she was not afforded fame until after her untimely death at the age of 41. Therefore, elitist criticisms based on psychobiographers only studying wealthy, privileged or famous men do not seem justified. On the other side of the elitism spectrum, significant efforts

have also been made to ensure that ambivalence and neutrality were upheld, as discussed in Section 5.3. However, at this time, it should be noted that the psychobiographer intentionally refrained from heroising or idealising Jane Austen by seeking supervision during the study. The author acknowledged the easy genre criticism as invalid due to previous experience with psychobiographical writing. Elms (1994) defended psychobiographers by noting differences between poor psychobiographies (which may be easy to write) and contrasted it with quality psychobiography. As literature reviews regarding career development theories and Jane Austen's life and contexts were undertaken, while ensuring the quality criterion are adhered to, the researcher could attest to the anti-critique. The following section discusses various considerations that were taken into account to enhance the quality of the study.

5.3. Considerations in Psychobiography: Quality Control

Various researchers have posited that psychobiographies lack scientific rigour (Granqvist, 2006; Houghton et al., 2013; Yin, 2018). Often, psychobiographical case studies are considered soft research due to their exploratory and explanatory or interpretive goals (Panelatti, 2018). However, understanding and breathing meaning into a subject's life story via contextualised and nuanced accounts of the complexities of his or her lived life are valued (Du Plessis, 2017; Panelatti, 2018). This follows directly from qualitative methodologies that are anchored in constructivism or interpretivism (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Ponterotto, 2015; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017). Nevertheless, both data convergence via theoretical and evidentiary source triangulation has become a standard norm in psychobiographical research (Panelatti, 2018; Ponterotto, 2019b). This practice has strengthened the trustworthiness and rigour of psychobiographical practice (Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2019).

Several strategies were proposed to reach the potential of psychobiography and to minimise the disparity between actual and executed practice (Anderson, 1981). For example, Du Plessis (2017) advocated for a more balanced and nuanced evaluation of psychobiographers and rejected the categorical dichotomous description of good and bad psychobiographies. Du Plessis (2017) argued for practical steps to achieve quality in psychobiographical endeavours. Although qualitative psychobiographical methods were acknowledged as iterative processes, such guidelines and systematised approaches to the research process were developed to increase the quality of psychobiography (Köváry, 2018; Ponterotto, 2014a, 2017). These approaches aimed to facilitate novice researchers' horizons of understanding (Gadamer, 1960/1989; Morrow, 2005; Ponterotto, 2014). Ponterotto (2017b) further emphasised the reflective nature of psychobiographical approaches and developed guided reflective questions for researchers to answer during the research process. *Appendix I* presents a list of reflective questions as adapted from Ponterotto's (2017) and Du Plessis' (2017) articles. Overall, these guidelines aim to facilitate the development of quality psychobiography. Section 5.3.1. explores trustworthiness, rigour, resonance, and meaningful coherence in psychobiography, with the application thereof presented in Section 5.3.2.

5.3.1. Considering trustworthiness, rigour, resonance and meaningful coherence

The humanities and social sciences are fundamentally different from the natural sciences (Köváry, 2011). Researchers in the natural sciences purport to measure their studies objectively, without attachments to the phenomena they study or to their subjects (Giorgjioska & Tomicic, 2019). When physical phenomena are researched, the quality of the research is measured by employing the traditional scientific criteria, namely construct validity, internal validity, external validity, and reliability (Yin, 2018). Therefore, the sterile measures of reliability and validity aim to provide researchers and consumers of natural science research, quantitative descriptions, and inferential accounts of the quality and reproducibility of natural

scientists' studies (Yin, 2018). Natural science researchers thus claim to be removed from the research process, emphasising objective distance to gain insight into the phenomena under study (Pandey, 2014).

In the positivist and post-positivist research traditions, this is appropriate. However, in the social sciences and the humanities, this is not the case (Morrow, 2005) because social scientists study fundamentally different phenomena than natural scientists (Dilthey, 1996; Giorgjioska & Tomicic, 2019). In contrast to natural scientists, scholars in the social sciences and the humanities aim towards *Verstehen* (see Section 5.2.1.), not neutral or objective truths about or universal laws that explain their subjects (Mayer, 2017; Robinson & McAdams, 2015). As stated earlier, the nature of qualitative research requires disciplined, albeit emotional, subjectivity, personal reflexivity, and sensitivity. In addition, qualitative social science researchers are implored to examine how their biographical and personal influences shape the subjective constructions of their subjects, as well as their methodologies (Berry & Warren, 2009; Mauthner & Doucet, 2003). Therefore, the axiological and methodological aims, including the benchmarks for judging the quality of inquiries are endogenously different than those pursued in the natural sciences (Morrow, 2005; Ponterotto, 2015; Tracy, 2010).

Quality benchmarking is also imperative for qualitative scholars (Koch & Harrington, 1998; Ponterotto, 2005; Shenton, 2004). Thus, anti-positivist researchers suggested that the extrinsic criteria (i.e., criteria arising from outside qualitative paradigms) that mirror the traditionally espoused scientific criteria should be used to judge the quality of qualitative inquiries (Lincoln, 1995). Researchers from anti-positivist paradigms often conflate these criteria with the "traditional scientific research criteria" (Patton, 2002, p. 544). As qualitative researchers become the instruments of their own unfolding inquiry processes, quality benchmarking aims are less of a calibration process and more of a transparent attunement or engagement process (Aspers & Corte, 2019; Morrow, 2005; Shenton, 2004). Therefore, instead of reliability and

validity concerns, trustworthiness and rigour are required in qualitative research (Houghton et al., 2013; Shenton, 2004).

Nonetheless, Lincoln and Guba (1985, 2000) suggested four extrinsic quality criteria: (a) credibility, (b) confirmability, (c) dependability, and (d) transferability. In post-positivist qualitative research, these four criteria are deemed sufficient due to their similarities to traditional quantitative benchmarks (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Lincoln, 1995; Morrow, 2005). It has been noted that constructivist-interpretivist-centered researchers could utilise these criteria to coax researchers from other parlances of the legitimacy of the qualitative findings (Panelatti, 2018; Patton, 2002; Yin, 2018). However, authenticity criteria or intrinsic criteria have also been suggested as supplementary quality benchmarks in constructivist-interpretivist qualitative studies (Morrow, 2005; Williams & Morrow, 2009). Single case psychobiographical studies are also often criticised for lacking trustworthiness or rigour (Mayer, 2017; Saccaggi, 2015).

Qualitative psychobiographers are still required to display *trustworthiness* in their inquiries (Merriam & Grenier, 2019). It should be acknowledged that the word trustworthiness implies subjective evaluation, thus, it is the researcher's responsibility to ensure the integrity of the study to enable his or her imagined reader to trust the study's findings (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). Therefore, unlike in the quantitative natural sciences, constructivist researchers rather aim to understand their subjects and their contexts (Morrow, 2005). Morrow (2005) advocated for the role of authenticity or intrinsic criteria in the evaluation of qualitative inquiries and stated that qualitative inquiries have been too "apologetic for our unique frames of reference and standards of goodness" (p. 252). Therefore, constructivist-interpretivist trustworthiness, coherence, and resonance were essential in this qualitative psychobiography (Ponterotto, 2005; Tracy, 2010; Yin, 2018). Brief discussions and applications of credibility, confirmability, dependability, transferability, meaningful coherence in relation to this psychobiography are demonstrated in the following sections.

5.3.1.1. Credibility

In qualitative research, *credibility* refers to ensuring the believability or truthfulness in the research process (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Willig & Stainton-Rogers, 2017). Credibility is similar to the concepts of internal validity and internal consistency in post-positivist research (Gasson, 2004; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Morrow, 2005; Ponterotto, 2005). However, where internal validity refers to the coherence of a quantitative instrument and its researcher's findings, credibility in case studies refers to researchers' attempts to link their data into coherent wholes via persuasive arguments (Edwards, 1998; Krefting, 1991).

According to Patton (2002), the credibility of qualitative studies is dependent on three interrelated roles the researcher occupies, namely: (a) the fieldworker, (b) the philosopher, and (c) the inquirer. Firstly, credible accounts are dependent on the rigour of data collection and analysis; therefore, the researcher as fieldworker needs to be accountable for the quality of the data collected or created (Patton, 2002). Secondly, qualitative researchers should value the philosophical conditions of qualitative inquiries (Patton, 2002). According to Panelatti (2018), inquirers should display "fundamental appreciation of naturalistic inquiry, qualitative methods, inductive analysis, purposeful sampling, and holistic thinking" (p. 270) to persuade imagined readers of their credibility. Therefore, tracking the discovery-orientated, evolving process of data collection and analysis is of critical importance for the enhancement of credibility in qualitative research (Ponterotto, 2014). This also implies that the rhetoric or persuasive elements of the inquiries should match its epistemic grounding (Levitt et al., 2018). Thirdly, credible accounts are dependent on its inquirers' credibility (Patton, 2002). Therefore, the experience, training, education, self-presentation, status, and track record of the inquirer should be adequate for the study's purpose (Panelatti, 2018). When these three roles are congruent with a qualitative study's aims and methods, the study's credibility increases (Patton, 2002).

Furthermore, no single objective reality is ontologically acknowledged by constructivist inquirers, as multiple realities and truths are thought to be socially-constructed and historically bound (Bertucci et al., 2018). Therefore, credibility could be increased, enhanced, or decreased, but never achieved. Credibility is thus an emergent property of inquiry that aids the co-construction of a "truth" (Delia, 1976). Credibility is constructed between inquirers (who rhetorically or persuasively state their own positions) and their imagined readers (who may either choose to place their trust in what the inquirers have noted due to their transparency and believability or may not). Therefore, credibility relates to the question: To what degree can an informed reader believe, or trust, what the inquirer is arguing? (Bertucci et al., 2018; Patton, 2002).

5.3.1.2. Confirmability

Confirmability refers to whether the findings based on theoretical frameworks accurately derive from the data (Houghton et al., 2013; Lubbe, 2005; Krefting, 1991). According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), the neutrality of the data is determined by the accuracy in which interpretations are dependent on neutrally collected and represented data. The onus of demonstrating "that the data and findings were derived from events, rather than being solely from researcher construction," thus lies in grounding the findings in the data (Kawulich & Holland, 2012, p. 243). Therefore, confirmability has been compared to construct validity in post-positivist research (Morrow, 2005; Ponterotto, 2005; Shenton, 2004).

Enhancing the confirmability of a qualitative case study research depends on accurately operationalising the concepts being studied and ensuring the neutrality of the data and its derivative findings (Ryan et al., 2007; Yin, 2018). According to Gilgun (1994) and Yin (2018), the researched concepts should be adequately defined and explained prior to data collection.

This reduces the impact of potentially over-subjectivised data collection, which may bias the resultant findings (Yin, 2018). Due to the nature of qualitative case study research, researchers found that confirmability is difficult to increase substantially in qualitative case study research, but should nevertheless be prioritised to ensure that findings are neutrally, albeit mutually, constructed by its inquirer and the data the findings are based on (Yin, 2018). It is, therefore, imperative that psychobiographers reduce the possible influences of their biases while ensuring that the data is accurately presented in the findings. In archival qualitative research, two questions surrounding confirmability issues seem to be central: (a) *To what degree can informed readers trust that the findings are mutually constructed between the multiple realities represented by the data and the inquirer's reality?*; and (b) *To what degree have measures been taken to ensure that the findings are not just constructed by the inquirer's unexamined bias?* (Shenton, 2004; Yin, 2018).

5.3.1.3. Dependability

Dependability or *auditability* in constructivist-interpretivist research equates loosely to the quantitative notion of reliability in post-positivist research (Lincoln & Guba, 2000; Langtree et al., 2019; Morrow, 2005; Ponterotto, 2005). However, in constructivist research, interpretations arising from different authors would probably not be precisely replicable (Rolfe, 2006; Sandelowski, 1993). It has been argued that dependability relates to the accountability and the management of subjectivity in qualitative studies (Morrow, 2005). Yin (2018) linked the process of establishing dependability in case study research to financial auditing - every decision relating to the research process needs to be accounted for. It has been argued that if researchers with similar backgrounds attempted to trace or repeat the research process in a similar manner, as described by an audit trail, the researchers would need to consistently follow the researcher's decisions (Rodwell & Byers, 1997).

The central questions arising from dependability include: (a) *Can the inquirer account for the research process?* and (b) *Are the findings of the inquiry consistent with the data that were collected?* (Sandelowski, 1993; Yin, 2018). According to Merriam and Grenier (2019), "rather than insisting that others get the same results as the original researcher, reliability lies in others' concurring that given the data collected, the results make sense" (p. 28). It is, therefore, imperative in the evaluation of qualitative research to not conflate the notion of dependability with replication worthiness (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam & Grenier, 2019).

5.3.1.4. Transferability

Transferability or *fittingness* has often been at the forefront of case study research critique (Guba & Lincoln, 1981; Yin, 2018). It has been noted that due to the lack of sample representability, if a post-positivist view is taken, single case studies cannot be generalised to larger populations (Kvale, 1996; Runyan, 1988b; Yin, 2018). To explain the function of transferability in the traditional sense, Bhattacherjee (2012) stated "that readers can independently assess whether and to what extent ... the reported findings [are] transferable to other settings" (p. 111). Lincoln and Guba (1985) initially also stated that if the context of a particular case were sufficiently similar or congruent to another case's context, that the findings of the former may apply to the latter. Later, Lincoln and Guba (2000) proclaimed that no generalisation can be made in case study research. According to numerous qualitative researchers, it could be argued that in linking transferability to the concept of external validity in post-positivist research, core nuance in the value of qualitative constructivist research is lost (Morrow, 2005; Tracy, 2010).

In keeping with the epistemic and ontological implications of anti-positivist research, generalisations in social science research should be seen in the light of executive hypotheses,

instead of absolute conclusions (Cronbach, 1975; Stake, 2005, 2013). Furthermore, qualitative case study researchers should "assist readers in the construction of knowledge", instead of aiming for generalisability in the nomothetic sense of the word (Stake, 2000, p. 442). In addition, the context-bound nature of case study research does not allow for statistical generalisation (Kvale, 1996; Yin, 2018). Rather, analytic generalisation, the process of generalising empirically-based findings to broader theories instead of persons, should be aimed for (Yin, 2018). In doing so, various theoretical facets can be either confirmed or refuted for the particular case (Fouché, 1999). Therefore, the theoretical applicability can be tested for a specific case, the theory can be exemplified, and the suggestions for the modification, adjustment or development of various facets of the theory could be made (Fouché et al., 2016; Robinson & McAdams, 2015; Yin, 2018).

Robinson and McAdams (2015) also argued that many psychological researchers have shown that their theories are generalisable, but not many theories are specifiable. *Specifiability* refers to a theory's ability to predict or understand individuals at an individual level (Robinson & McAdams, 2015). Thus, transferability concerns in case study research (with relation to specifiability and analytical generalisation) can be reduced to two questions: (a) Can informed readers trust the degree to which the findings of the study are applicable to this case?; and (b) Can the particular case refute, modify or confirm aspects of the chosen theory? (McAdams, 2015; Yin, 2018).

5.3.1.5. Resonance

The intrinsic criterium of *resonance* relates to the "ability to meaningfully reverberate and affect an audience" (Tracy, 2010, p. 844). It is important to evoke empathy as a result of any qualitative study (Oosthuizen, 2018; Tracy, 2010). To achieve empathic validity (Anderson,

1981), researchers of qualitative case studies should strive towards not only groundedness but also meritorious aesthetics in their research (Lazaroton, 2003; Sandelowski & Barroso, 2002). Therefore, the question arising from resonance is: Does this inquiry have the capacity to evoke empathy in an imagined reader? (Oosthuizen, 2018).

5.3.1.6. Meaningful coherence

Another intrinsic criterium, *meaningful coherence*, has often been cited as a goal for quality case studies (Tracy, 2010); researchers of case studies need to ensure that their qualitative research "meaningfully interconnects literature, research questions/foci, findings, and interpretations with each other" (Tracy, 2010, p. 840). This resounds well with the explicit goals of good qualitative psychobiographers, which Schultz (2005b) deemed as an elucidation and "sudden coherence" (p. 7). Therefore, Ponterotto (2012) explained that psychobiographers should aim to iron out previous confusion of incoherence about the subject or their lives, and they should reasonably answer questions about the subject without psychobiographical self-contradicting. The question that sums up meaningful coherence: Does the inquiry demonstrate logic and understanding, or does it fall apart if unproven data are removed from the inquiry? (Tracy, 2010).

5.3.2. Applying trustworthiness, rigour, resonance and meaningful coherence in this study.

In response to the criticisms raised earlier, several guidelines have been proposed to distinguish good psychobiography from bad psychobiography (Anderson, 1981; Du Plessis, 2017; Elms, 1988; 2005; Runyan, 2005a; Schultz, 2005a; Ponterotto, 2014). Similarly, many of these criticisms have been addressed by researchers in the past, despite an abundance of research

regarding potential quicksand situations that psychobiographers often fell into (Anderson, 1981; 2003).

The problem of what Anderson (1981) referred to as psychological analytical buckshots was that psychologically informed biographies of eminent historical figures are often conducted haphazardly and reductionistically by unskilled researchers due to a lack of rigour and methodological coherence. Even though many of these cautionary notes that limit the scope of psychobiographical practice are abundant, many researchers are unaware of the potential perils of poorly written or non-systematic psychobiographies (Anderson, 1981; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2019; Runyan, 2019). Thus, Ponterotto and Reynolds (2019) have argued that researchers should be especially aware of their methodological competence in undertaking psychobiography.

In the following subchapters, these quality control concerns (see Section 5.3.1) are applied to this psychobiography. Strategies to increase the credibility, confirmability, dependability, and transferability of this study are applied first, followed by the application of the two intrinsic criteria.

5.3.2.1. Credibility in this psychobiography

To increase this psychobiography's credibility, the researcher noted the precautions of various researchers (Krefting, 1991; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Patton, 2002; Yin, 2018). The researcher engaged intensively with the historiographic findings about Jane Austen over a prolonged period. This was important, as prolonged engagement has often been cited as critical to the credibility of a research pursuit (Jacelon & O'Dell, 2005; Shenton, 2004). This ensured that an in-depth and believable account of Jane Austen's career development could ensue while allowing natural countertransferential material to surface and be managed. This was also

documented via transparent reflective commentaries that explored the researchers' relationship to, changing perceptions of, and emerging questions about Jane Austen. Therefore, the researcher disclosed various biographical details and perceptions as running commentary in the study. In doing so, future scrutinisers of this psychobiography could judge whether they believe the findings of this psychobiography while acknowledging the researchers' disciplined subjective position.

Triangulation has also been a cornerstone in enhancing the credibility of qualitative research (Guba, 1981; Houghton et al., 2013; Shenton, 2004; Willig & Stainton-Rogers, 2017). Three forms of triangulation have often been described in qualitative studies (Fouché, 1999; Fouché & Holz, 2015). Firstly, data triangulation refers to the process of ensuring that multiple sources can confirm a particular datum (Denzin, 1989); multiple realities can converge, and points of divergence could be noted critically, while minimising possibly distorted data and interpretations (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Therefore, data triangulation was sought in the study by ensuring that multiple sources agreed on the facticity of the data. The findings were also reviewed with a small pool of previously unused data to ensure that the data remained consistent. Secondly, investigator triangulation was utilised in this study. According to Shenton (2004), the richness of a qualitative study is enhanced by consulting with research supervisors during data collection and analysis. Therefore, the researcher used debriefing sessions and peer scrutiny from his research supervisors during the process of the study to ensure that alternative views and perceptions could be incorporated where necessary. These sessions allowed for investigator triangulation, as suggested by Shenton (2004). Although theoretical triangulation has also been suggested by many qualitative authors (Panelatti, 2018), this study did not employ multiple theories. This is addressed as a limitation in the final chapter. Strategies to enhance the confirmability in this study are discussed next.

5.3.2.2. Confirmability in this psychobiography

Several strategies were employed to enhance the confirmability of this study. Ponterotto (2005, 2014) recommended that qualitative researchers should bracket their personal biases by engaging in continuous reflection. Due to qualitative researchers becoming non-neutral instruments of their research, the processes of personal and positional bracketing allow them to avoid distorting their findings (Fouché & Holz, 2015). This enhances the axiological validity of qualitative research (Ponterotto, 2017a). Thus, the researcher employed his growing self-awareness in relation to Jane Austen by personally reflecting as the data were collected and analysed. The researcher also critically reflected on the data that were collected while ensuring that the interpretations were grounded in the data. This practice ensured that the findings were guided by the theoretical constructs as described by Super (1990, 1992, 1996), and not by the researcher's own speculations. Taking analytic memos have also frequently been used by qualitative researchers to enhance the confirmability of their research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Morrow, 2005). During this psychobiography, analytic memos were taken as the data on Jane Austen's life unfolded. Therefore, a reflexivity journal was kept and maintained during this psychobiography, as Shenton (2004) suggested. This reflexivity journal included technical reflections, diarised entries, as well as personalised projective and biographical reflections that related to the study. The following section addresses dependability in this psychobiography.

5.3.2.3. Dependability in this psychobiography

Various strategies were utilised to increase the dependability of this single case study on the life and career development of Jane Austen. The inquiry's auditability was increased by rigorously documenting the research process in five ways. Firstly, an audit trail was kept to document the research process, as well as possible divergence from the initially proposed methodology. As qualitative researchers are guided by the evolving understandings of their

subjects, flexibility is required from them (Ohman, 2005). This is especially important because constructivist researchers simultaneously collect and analyse their data (Fassinger, 2005; Polkinghorne, 2005; Ponterotto, 2014). Therefore, various researchers have proposed that the use of an audit trail allow future researchers to trace a study's conclusions and findings, as well as determine whether or not they trust a study's findings, based on the documented process that was followed (Flick, 2018; Houghton et al., 2013; Ponterotto, 2014; Schwandt et al., 2007). A (a) psycho-historical conceptualisation (Fouché, 1999) and (b) salience guidelines were also utilised as additional precautions to enhance the dependability of the study (Alexander, 1988, 1990). These will be described in more detail in Chapter 6. Lastly, continuous reflexivity was employed in various ways to enhance the study's dependability. According to Tracy (2010), self-reflection is a highly personalised process; researchers should be honest, authentic, and sincere while doing so. This process of personal reflection and reflection on the life of Jane Austen was documented and discussed in the previous section. Transferability in this study is addressed in the following section.

5.3.2.4. Transferability in this psychobiography

In this single case psychobiographical study, analytic generalisation was sought (Yin, 2018). Therefore, the direct transferability of the study's findings to other contexts was not a concern. The historiographic findings of Jane Austen's life and works were compared to facets of Super's model of career development over the lifespan to ascertain whether the theory could fit the biographical and autobiographical literature. However, to increase the transferability, the researcher took two precautions. Firstly, thick description was used to ensure that the contextual conditions in which events in Jane Austen's life occurred were appropriately noted. Thick description (Denzin, 1989; Geertz, 1973a; 1973b), the cornerstone of qualitative research (Ponterotto & Grieger, 2007), required that the data and the findings were richly described and

contextualised (Morrow, 2005; Ponterotto, 2006; Ryle, 1971; Williams & Morrow, 2009). Secondly, Jane Austen's social, historical and cultural contexts were defined prior to the analysis of the data and continuously refined as new data emerged (Shenton, 2004). The two intrinsic criteria that were employed in this study are discussed in the following two sections.

5.3.2.5. Resonance in this psychobiography

In addition to the artistic merit that was sought in the study, the psychobiographer also aimed to resonate with readers by employing moderated affective discourse in the findings. However, a broadened view of countertransference has been proposed for self-analysis and resonance (Devereax, 1980). Medico and Santiago-Delefosse (2014) explained that the intersubjective components of countertransferential material should not be the only dimensions that are utilised by qualitative researchers for self-reflection. It could be substantiated that for true resonance to occur in psychobiographical practice, researchers should also analyse their socio-ideological subjectivities in relation to their subjects (Medico & Santiago-Delefosse, 2014). As this relates directly to the critical analysis of the researcher's subjectivity and intersubjectivity with relation to Jane Austen, socio-ideological self-reflection was also sought and noted during the research process.

Enhancing the quality of the psychobiography was important, as the researcher acknowledged that he was the instrument of the research (Medico & Santiago-Delefosse, 2014). The researcher committed to noting possible countertransferential questions and affective states in the research diary during this study. This was done for the researcher to systematically reflect on various possible impediments to neutrality and increase the utilisation of his own reflexivity in relation to this study.

5.3.2.6. Meaningful coherence in this psychobiography

Schultz (2005a) stated that in good psychobiography "the best interpretations make the incoherent cohere" (p. 7). This was done to ensure that Jane Austen's life-story could systematically be transformed "into a coherent and illuminating story" (McAdams, 2006, p. 503). In order to achieve meaningful coherence, two steps were taken, as suggested by Tracy (2010). The researcher also utilised the psychobiographical method to ensure that a linear narrative could be formed from Jane Austen's birth to death. Lastly, the literature findings on Super's (1957, 1980, 1990) model were integrated into the findings of the study to ensure that the research questions, methods, and results were bound by a meaningful thread of logic. Section 5.4 addresses ethics in psychobiography.

5.4. Ethical Considerations in Psychobiography

Much research surrounding psychobiography's quality and ethics has been produced and published (Du Plessis & Du Plessis, 2018). The following sections explore and apply ethical precautions to this study. Firstly, various precautions relating to psychobiographical research are explored in relation to guidelines, legislature, and various ethical principles. Subsequently, the ethical precautions taken in this study are briefly noted.

5.4.1. Precautions in psychobiography: Ethics

Ethical dilemmas often arise involving the confidentiality and informed consent of qualitative case study subjects (Haverkamp, 2005; Ponterotto, 2010, 2014). However, the ethics of qualitative research and case studies have been researched extensively (Flick, 2018; Welland & Pugsley, 2019). Similarly, much research surrounding the quality, ethics, and legality of

psychobiography has been produced and published (Du Plessis & Du Plessis, 2018; Ponterotto, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2017; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017).

Psychobiographers are often faced with unique ethical dilemmas (Elms, 1994; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017; Runyan, 1988a). On the one hand, the nature of psychobiography requires researchers to explicitly name their subjects, as well as various intimate details about themselves and their peers (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Kővári, 2011). Thus, the typical conditions of anonymity (therefore confidentiality) are not met in psychobiography. Furthermore, psychobiographers often disclose intimate details that may implicate, harm or embarrass other living persons related to the subject (Christians, 2008; Fouché, 2015; Runyan, 1984). The potential invasion of privacy is an important additional concern to consider when psychobiographies are conducted (Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017). In response to the unavoidable nature of confidentiality disclosure in psychobiographical studies, Elms (1994) mentioned that it, therefore, becomes imperative for psychobiographers to treat their subjects with respect and dignity.

On the other hand, psychobiographers need to sensitively manage the potential impact of their findings (Ponterotto, 2013a, 2013b). The quality of psychobiographical research does not only extend to the impact on subjects or their family members but also to concerns regarding the lay public's interpretations of psychobiographical findings (Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017). Therefore, psychobiographers need to conduct their studies with fidelity, integrity, and accountability, not only for the sake of the subject but also for the reputation of the profession (Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017). This extends to the role of trustworthiness and rigour concerns, as discussed in Section 5.2.

To avert potential ethical pitfalls, Ponterotto and Reynolds (2017, 2019) recommended that psychobiographers should submit their proposals to institutional review boards (IRB) for

evaluation and continuous monitoring of evolving ethical concerns[16]. Furthermore, it was suggested that psychobiographers publish their dilemmas, albeit sensitively, to extend the knowledge in the field if unique ethical dilemmas do arise during the research process (Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017). This exceedingly allows for the growth of ethical sensitivity in the psychobiographical fields and enable future researchers to minimise the risks of such potential pitfalls.

Another important consideration in psychobiographical ethics is whether the research is conducted on a deceased or living subject (Elms, 1994). If a living historically or politically significant subject were to be studied, informed consent is required from the subject due to the invasive and potentially harmful nature of psychobiographical findings (American Psychiatric Association, 1976; Elms, 1994). A further consideration involves a living subject's right to voluntary participation without coercion and voluntary withdrawal without fear of reprimand (Kumar, 2019; Van Niekerk et al., 2015). This relates to the generally upheld ethic of self-determination in research ethics (Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017). Notably, harmful, distressing or potentially embarrassing findings could negatively impact a living individual's reputation or livelihood, therefore, extra ethical sensitivity is required when such findings are reported (Ponterotto, 2013a, 2013b, 2017).

Living subjects also need to be clearly informed of the potential risks for consenting to the study, as these risks may be unforeseen prior to the study (Pritchard, 2002; Van Niekerk et al., 2015). For example, the intimate knowledge obtained from psychobiographical findings may cause disrepute leading to financial loss, or even implicate living individuals legally, which might subject them, or others mentioned, to litigation or arrest (Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017).

[16] The ethical review process of this study is briefly explained in the following section.

Notwithstanding such potential harm, Elms (1994) reiterated that psychobiographers need to remain sensitive to how their findings are presented.

Although psychobiographical studies are frequently conducted on living political figures, various difficulties may arise in such a process (Elovitz, 2016; McAdams, 2011, 2016). Firstly, if informed consent is not obtained (which often is not), conducting a psychobiography on a living political figure contravenes various ethical guidelines (American Psychiatric Association, 1976; American Psychological Association, 2002). Ponterotto and Reynolds (2017) maintained that such a study might still be ethically feasible if only publicly available or archival data is used, as it minimises the risk of potential new civil or criminal liability. Furthermore, it has been justified that profiling living electoral candidates, who subject themselves to public scrutiny, may be in the public's best interest as such studies may advance the public good (Elms, 1994; Mayer & Leichtman, 2012). Therefore, the public beneficence and professional responsibility principles are argued to outweigh the potential harm or embarrassment that may arise from such a study. Consequently, Ponterotto and Reynolds (2017) argued that such psychological profiles need to be "fair and balanced and when appropriate cautions and limitations of the psychobiographical sketch [should be] noted" (p. 451). Nevertheless, the irresponsible or sensational use of such methodologies may be extremely sensitive and potentially irreversibly damaging to some living figures (Elms, 1994; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017). Because of the inherent risks in conducting psychobiographical work on living individuals, many psychobiographers have been of the opinion that subjects should be long-deceased if psychobiographical understanding is pursued (Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2019; Ponterotto et al., 2015).

According to Ponterotto (2014, 2015a), the temporal distance between a subject's death year and the year in which a psychobiography is undertaken, negatively relates to the potential impact of such a study on various individuals or groups. Therefore, if studies are conducted on

persons who are still alive, larger ethical risks are posed due to the potential impact of such a study on subjects themselves, their family members or associates, and on career scholars of the subjects (Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017). However, greater temporal distances decrease the impact such a psychobiography would likely have on living individuals (Ponterotto, 2014, 2015a). This is especially important given the nature of the information collected and disseminated. For example, Ponterotto (2013a) found that psychobiographers are often faced with unique dilemmas regarding the requests for or publication of private healthcare information, which may influence living individuals as well.

However, if a subject is recently deceased, the potential risk for embarrassment, disrepute or harm still exists for the subject's immediate family members, his or her peers and for career scholars or historians (Ponterotto, 2014, 2015a; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017). Ponterotto (2013a, 2013b) also suggested that psychobiographers who conduct their studies on recently deceased subjects should "invit[e the] subject['s] ... next-of-kin to read and comment on working drafts" as well as request consent from them (p. 19). If consent is not given by the subject's living next of kin, researchers are urged to explicitly state their reasons for continuing their studies (Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017).

Furthermore, various biomedical ethical debates have arisen regarding ethics and the subjects' post-mortem rights, particularly concerning their consent, privacy, cultural values, respect, and dignity in research involving deceased individuals (De Vaal, 2018). In South Africa, an additional concern relates to the possible implications of legislature such as the Protection of Private Information Act (no. 4 of 2013), which prohibits many procedures inherent in psychobiographical methodologies. Although the Act makes no explicit distinction for the collection, use, storage, discarding or publication of data relating to recently or long-deceased individuals of public interest, various stipulations in the Act may restrict the scope of psychobiographical practice on specifically living or recently deceased individuals (Buys,

2017; De Bruyn, 2014). The implications of such legislature in the absence of clear guidelines for psychohistory might be a worthwhile area for future researchers to explore in South African psychobiographical ethics.

The American Psychological Association (2002, 2010, 2016) made provisions for researchers who cannot necessarily obtain consent from their research subjects. These guidelines waver the need to obtain informed consent in research, which does not pose risks to distress induction, significant harm or disrepute to the research subjects. In South Africa, the statutory regulating board for the health professions, the Health Professions Council of South Africa [HPCSA] (2008), has also stated that non-maleficence and potential beneficence are of extreme importance in psychological research, and professionals who conduct research should uphold their professional ethical codes in doing so. However, many researchers have called for ethical guidelines to be developed in relation to conducting psychobiography (Ponterotto, 2014a). In South Africa, not one of the professional regulating boards or associations have pay attention to such calls (e.g., HPCSA, Psychological Society of South Africa [PsySSA], South African Society of Psychiatrists [SASOP] or Society for Industrial and Organisational Psychology [SIOPSA]). Nonetheless, the American Psychiatric Association (1976) has been, to knowledge, the only international institution to gather a specialist task force on psychohistory to create guidelines for psychobiographical or psychohistorical practice.

Notably, a guideline that frequently appears in psychobiographical ethics literature is that psychobiographies should preferably be carried out on subjects who are long deceased so that no surviving relatives would be embarrassed by potentially unsavoury revelations (American Psychiatric Association, 1976; Fouché et al., 2018; Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017). This minimises the ethical risks associated with the in-depth psychological study of an individual's life (Ponterotto, 2013a, 2013b, 2017). Psychobiographers have also frequently been advised to at least attempt to obtain consent from recently departed subjects' next of kin if possible, but

psychobiography often does not obtain such consent (Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017). Given the nature of general guidelines regarding research on deceased subjects in South Africa, it seems that such suggestions are congruent to the South African research landscape (HPCSA, 2008).

According to Ponterotto (2013a, 2013b, 2017), various other ethical issues needed to be addressed in psychobiography. Ponterotto (2013a, 2013b, 2015, 2017) iterated that if psychobiographers were to publish their results and findings, the benefits of publishing potentially sensitive, harmful or controversial information about a subject should clearly outweigh the potential harm. This is especially true of psychobiographical findings that depend on previously unrevealed or unpublished information (Ponterotto & Reynolds, 2017). The following sections aim to explore and apply some precautions to the study.

5.4.2. Ethical considerations in this study

An ethical consideration frequently considered in psychobiography is whether the subject is living or deceased (Fouché et al., 2018; Ponterotto, 2013a). However, as Jane Austen had no descendants and passed away more than 200 years ago, these concerns were negligible. Although this meant that consent could not be obtained from Jane Austen to conduct this study on her life-span career development, permission to conduct this study was granted in a departmental research colloquium at the University of the Free State, Department of Psychology, as well as the Board of the Faculty of the Humanities Scientific Committee for Title Registrations. As was noted before, several strategies such as data triangulation and reflexivity were also used to ensure the trustworthiness of the findings, as an ethical imperative. This, paired with evaluations of the data quality, led to the exclusion of unverified or refuted information and claims in the data set, and the findings were kept de facto (Fouché et al., 2014). Regardless, Jane's privacy was respected because only published data from the public domain

and archival material were used in this study. This minimised the risk of unearthing potentially controversial, unknown, unsavoury or disreputable information about Jane Austen, her family or her contemporaries. Nevertheless, sensitivity regarding information that was potentially never revealed before was continuously ensured in this study.

Other major ethical considerations prior to conducting the study included minimising potential privacy invasions, harm or embarrassment to Jane Austen, her relatives or their descendants (Prenter, 2015; Runyan, 1984). This extended to Jane Austen’s reputation and legacy too, as her fame as novelist rose only after her death. Although she did not have any progeny, major stakeholders in Austenian communities or institutions still exist, whose livelihoods also depend on Jane's reputation. Therefore, special considerations were given to the potential impact of unfavourable findings relating to Jane's life. It should, however, be noted that to retain the integrity and the balanced neutrality of the research findings, such unfavourable findings did not necessarily constitute bias. This was an important consideration, as Ponterotto (2013a) advocated for balanced views of psychobiographical subjects.

Due to the emergent, reflective and disciplined subjective nature of this study, care was also taken to ground the findings in the data and to avoid speculation, and to report the findings by using an uncertainty rhetoric. For example, the study's findings were presented in first-person language to emphasise the researchers' paradigmatic engagement with the historiographical literature on Jane Austen (see Meyrick, 2006; Ponterotto, 2005). This also meant that the findings were not presented as definite conclusions but rather as one way to potentially view the case. This was an important consideration, as the potential impact of psychobiographical publications could extend to the reputation and fidelity of the psychological profession in the eyes of the public and amongst researchers in other disciplines (Bálint, 2019; Ponterotto, 2017a, 2017b). According to Ponterotto and Reynolds (2017), psychobiographies are often widely read by the lay public, and due to mental health professionals' "high threshold

[expectations for] ... maintaining diagnostic, and assessment ethics", poorly executed psychobiographies have the potential to damage the reputation of the mental health professions (p. 449). Therefore, the researcher viewed the quality, integrity, and presentation of this study as an ethical matter and stated the study's limitations explicitly. Finally, reporting a balanced, nuanced, and fair account of Jane Austen's life as it was presented in the research literature was ethically paramount to the researcher.

5.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, various methodological and quality considerations in psychobiographical case study research were explored and applied to this study. This was done by first exploring six big debates in psychobiographical research, followed by discussions about the precautions and various strategies to challenge, counteract, or apply the precautions to this study. The chapter also included an exploration of different considerations in psychobiographical quality. Precautions relating to trustworthiness, rigour, resonance, methodological coherence, and ethical challenges were explored and differentially applied to this study. Chapter 6 explains this psychobiographical case study's research design and methodology.

Chapter 6

Research Design and Methodology

6.1. Chapter Preview

This chapter presents a discussion about the research design and methodology of this psychobiography. Following this is an exploration of the sampling of the psychobiographical subject and an overview of the research aim, including the secondary research objective. Subsequently, the subject choice and sampling techniques utilised in this study are explored, and a discussion of the collection, extraction, and analysis procedures that were employed in this study. Although ethics, trustworthiness, and rigour were discussed thoroughly in the previous chapter, Chapter 6 concludes by applying the ethical, trustworthiness, and rigour considerations in this study.

6.2. Research Design and Methodology

Even though multiple case studies have often been suggested as an alternative to the limitations of single case studies (Yin, 2018), single-case study designs (N=1) are often utilised for psychobiographical purposes as the design allows for a nuanced and extended understanding of a single lived life by using psychological theory (Ponterotto, 2014; Yin, 2018). Mayer (2020) defined the method as the analysis of "the lives of extraordinary individuals across their lifespan, through the lens of a psychological theory" (p. 440). Not only does this mean that the systematic organisation and analysis of a life-lived allow for the insightful reconstruction of an individual's narrative (Mayer, 2017; McAdams, 2006; Runyan, 2019), but it also implies that a conceptualisation of the chosen individual could contribute to theory-building by utilising

case study materials (Fouché et al., 2014; Smith, 2018; Yin, 2018). Where multiple case studies are often utilised to make cross-case or between-case comparisons or contrasts, single case studies are useful for understanding unique or difficult-to-study phenomena (Gustafsson, 2017; Yin, 2018). Therefore, a single-case study design was chosen to understand and reconstruct the career development of Jane Austen in this psychobiography.

Although psychobiographical case studies share several important features with general case studies, some distinct features exist between the general design and the adapted methodology for psychobiographical purposes (Elms, 2007). Ponterotto (2017a) highlighted that authors of general case studies have the ethical imperative to de-identify their subjects, whereas psychobiographers need to skillfully negotiate the most salient information about their subjects while balancing other ethical imperatives. For example, several individuals are necessarily named in psychobiographies (Du Plessis & Stones, 2019; Gómez et al., 2019). Therefore, individuals under study, as well as close others in their milieu, are identified, and their roles in their respective life-histories are often explored in-depth (Elms, 2007; Ponterotto, 2019c). This is because explicitly disregarding or extensively negotiating the traditional anonymity and confidentiality boundaries are unique features of psychobiography (Du Plessis & Stones, 2019; Johnson, 2019). However, psychobiographers could impact both their subjects' living significant others or offspring, thus the subjects' legacies should be closely examined before and during the study (Burnell et al., 2019; Ponterotto, 2019a). These possible pitfalls were discussed in-depth in the previous chapter.

A longitudinal, single-case study design was selected for this psychobiography due to the ability to understand a life through an in-depth exploration of a subject's contextualised life (Elms, 1994; Fouché et al., 2014; Van Genechten, 2009; Willig & Stainton-Rogers, 2017). Therefore, the study's design was chosen to understand and transform Jane Austen's lifespan into a coherent careerography. This was done by using Super's (1990) Life-Space, Life-Span

theory to reconstruct and synthesise a meaningful psychological description of her career development over time. The use of Super's (1980) theory not only allowed for a nuanced and holistic reconstruction of Jane Austen's career development within her socio-cultural context but also contributed to theory development through analytic generalisation, as proposed by Yin (2018). The sampling procedures are described in the following section.

6.3. Sampling the Psychobiographical Subject

Choosing a subject for analysis is often cited as the most important step in psychobiography (Burnell et al., 2019; Du Plessis, 2017; Elms, 1994; Gómez et al., 2019; Schultz, 2005a, 2005b). Significant persons' lives were documented and interpreted extensively since, at least, the ancient Greek eras, and making psychological sense of significant lives has been an important task for researchers (Knight, 2019). However, methodological biases have been noted extensively, yet explored and addressed in recent years regarding psychobiographical subject selection (Burnell et al., 2019; Knight, 2019). In order to overcome the difficulties described in Chapter 5 regarding possible biased subject selection, the researcher selected a subject for whom he did not have either strongly negative or strongly positive feelings towards or a relationship with, as Schultz (2005d, 2005e) and Elms' (1994) recommended. As a result, excessive subjectivity was avoided in the subject selection, including potential ethical pitfalls (Burnell et al., 2019; Ponterotto, 2014). Furthermore, a preliminary, albeit informal, pilot study of Jane Austen as a viable subject for psychobiographical enquiry was conducted before undertaking the study. As the trans-historical and cross-cultural influences of psychobiographical enquiry were also imperative (Ponterotto, 2014), an evaluation of Jane Austen's context was conducted before undertaking the study, and contextual information was continuously refined during the study.

Several other psychobiographies have been conducted on influential and enigmatic writers, authors, and novelists, specifically (see *Appendix G*). For example, some recent psychobiographies conducted in South Africa include psychobiographies about Olive Schreiner (Perry, 2012), Adam Small (Fouché et al., 2019), and Ingrid Jonker (Rust, 2019). Other psychobiographies conducted at postgraduate level in South Africa have also focused on international, often European or American, writers of note. Several recent studies have been conducted on, for example, Sylvia Plath (Panelatti, 2018), Roald Dahl (Holz, 2014), Clive Staples Lewis (Oosthuizen, 2018), Maya Angelou (Harisunker, 2016), and Philip K. Dick (Basson, 2020). However, it has been frequently argued that the limited subject selection in South African psychobiographical studies implies that postgraduate students consistently deem men as more important than women, reflecting patriarchal undertones (Rust, 2019). It remains debatable whether this is an intentional phenomenon, despite frequent calls to conduct more psychobiographical studies on females (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Fouché et al., 2007; Roets, 2015). Nevertheless, some authors have persistently called for the expansion of the selection pool and more appropriate selection of psychobiographical subjects from a wide variety of socio-historical contexts (Burnell et al., 2019).

Jane Austen was selected as the study's subject, via purposive sampling, because of her enormous influence as the first modern novelist (Steeves, 2020). Her legacy as a female novelist during the Georgian and Regency Periods in England has far surpassed the fame she could have imagined during her lifetime (Le Faye, 2011; Lynch, 2005). One academic noted that the study of Jane Austen's works had become an academic industry, and entire cult-like academic movements have formed around studying the novelist's life (Johnson, 2012). Furthermore, Jane Austen's enigmatic and allusive nature were considered important criteria for her selection for this study. It was especially ironic that a woman, who rose to such relative prominence that she was allowed to make a royal dedication on the request of the then Regent

Prince, did not have a well-documented public life. Jane neither sought fame nor profit early in her career (Austen, 1817), but she was adamant about seeing to it that her work would be published (Austen, 1817). Although many people knew and admired Jane Austen's work during her lifetime, she did not publish any material under her name during her lifetime; she opted to publish anonymously (Le Faye, 2004). These oddities were deemed sufficient for inclusion in the psychobiographical study.

Chapter 3 explored Jane's socio-historical context and her entire lifespan. It could especially be seen that, given the context she lived in, her efforts as an early writer were particularly important for the development of the modern novel. However, it is fascinating to note that during the period in which hyper-fantastic gothic novels were flourishing as popular entertainment in England, Jane wrote social realism and was even exalted to the level of personal dedicatee to the Regent Prince (see Chapter 3). The research aims and objectives for this psychobiography are discussed next.

6.4. Research Aim and Secondary Objective

According to Anderson and Dunlop (2019), the overall purpose of psychobiographical study is to "gain a greater understanding of [a] biographical subject" by using theory to "provide new questions" about a subject's rich life (p. 9). In addition, psychological theory should guide psychobiographical enquiry without overly constraining or forcing itself onto a subjects' life-materials (Anderson & Dunlop, 2019). In this way, psychobiographers use theory as a shaping and fluctuating lens to view their subjects with, while allowing for psychological theory to change as a result of the triadic interaction between the subject, the psychobiographer, and their theoretical guidance (Burnell et al., 2019; Knight, 2019; Schultz & Lawrence, 2017). As was stated in Chapter 4, psychobiography combines biography and psychological theory. The result

of this triadic relationship also implies that not only do the life-history materials and the psychological theory used for psychobiography influence, blend and interact with each other through the researcher's intervention but that the resulting psychobiographical materials necessarily influence and interact with the researcher (Anderson & Dunlop, 2019; Knight, 2019; Köváry, 2019).

Therefore, the primary aim of this study was to understand and reconstruct Jane Austen's career development by applying Super's (1980, 1990) Life-Space, Life-Span theory to historiographic material about her life-span, with the secondary objective being to analytically generalise the findings to Super's (1990) theory. Firstly, to reconstruct and understand Austen's career development, Super's (1976, 1980) career conceptualisation theories were consolidated (see Chapter 2) before applying it to Jane Austen's life history and context. Secondly, analytic generalisation, in contrast to statistical generalisation, was sought in this study (Yin, 2018). Thus, instead of aiming to provide either internal or external validity and generalisability, psychobiographic case-studies provide idiographic particularisation (Gómez et al., 2019). Alternative explanations of subject singularities are considered more carefully than in studies that prioritise variable manipulation due to generalisability concerns (Gómez et al., 2019). Instead of seeking generalisation to other cases, idiographic-morphogenic single case psychobiographies prioritise finding logical and credible, yet unique descriptions and interpretations about individuals' life-histories (Ruiters, 2013; Runyan, 2005b). In simpler terms, analytic generalisation aimed to extend psychological theory and the theoretical understanding of the subject in this psychobiography (Knight, 2019). The following sections outline the data collection, extraction, and analysis procedures used in this study.

6.5. Data collection, extraction, and analysis

Due to the nature of the psychobiographical enquiry, a cyclical and iterative process of data collection, extraction, and analysis were presumed (Du Plessis, 2017; Fouché et al., 2014). For this reason, publicly available and archival materials were systematically collected, organised, and analysed over a period of two and a half years; since June 2018. Therefore, the historical data used in the study comprised primary and secondary sources, such as letters written by Jane and her family members (see Le Faye, 1997, 2011), as well as biographies about Jane written by her then surviving family (i.e., Austen, 1867, Austen-Leigh, 1871, 1882). Modern biographies, such as those written by Le Faye (2002, 2004, 2011, 2014), were also used extensively to corroborate the findings, and extensive revisions to first held narratives were undertaken as a result. Furthermore, although some references were made to literary essays about Jane Austen's work during the study, the study's aim had not been her work, but her career development.

Psychobiographers are often faced with the conflicting tasks of simultaneously needing to find more unique data while reducing the amount of data available about a subject for the viability of a research endeavour (Mayer, 2017). Thus, several strategies have been proposed to reduce and extract the most prominent or important information from biographical data (Schultz, 2005c, 2005d, 2005e). Alexander (1988, 1990) highlighted two such strategies, which are discussed in the following section. These strategies, particularly the indicators of salience, allow the most important life-history data to rise out of the emerging narrative about the chosen subject (Yu & Yu, 2012). Fortunately, the researcher had access to a vast amount of data about Jane Austen's life-history.

Jane Austen is renowned for having had much written about her life, novels, and letters (Steeves, 2020). Even more than 200 years after her death, Jane Austen's influence and importance have inspired an unsurmountable amount of research. For example, a Google

Scholar search on 18 August 2020 for the keywords "Jane Austen" revealed that, since 2016, there had been at least 20600 unique journal articles and books published on the platform about Jane Austen. A similar search on 18 August 2020 for the key terms "Jane Austen" yielded 45023 results for the author's name in the University of the Free State's online library discovery service. Therefore, Alexander's (1988, 1990) two data reduction strategies were used to extract and synthesise appropriate data coherently. These are discussed in Section 6.5.1. In conjunction with these two data reduction strategies, a psychohistorical matrix was used to categorise and organise the data according to a linear narrative (Section 6.5.2). The data was further subdivided into Jane's life-stages, as were described in Chapter 3.

6.5.1. Irving Alexander's (1988, 1990) data reduction strategies

As mentioned in Chapter 5, the researcher reduced the amount of data on Austen's life by employing Irvin Alexander's (1988, 1990) two data reduction strategies. Firstly, Alexander's (1988, 1990) strategy of questioning the data was employed. This allowed for significant reductions in the amount of data as new questions were advanced and allowed new questions to emerge as the data was being collected (Ponterotto, 2014). According to Alexander (1988, 1990), questioning the data also often allows researchers to organise their data according to the potential answers generated from these questions. Nevertheless, various questions relating to Jane Austen's life-span career development were asked. Concerning this data reduction strategy, data not directly relevant to the questions at hand were not included in the study. Two such questions that emerged from the data were:

1. How did Jane Austen's performances and expectations in her various expected life-roles contribute to her development as an author? and
2. How did Jane Austen construct and develop her career across her life-span?

These two broad questions, which ultimately related to Jane Austen's implementation of her self-concept over her lifespan, guided the researcher in reconstructing Jane Austen's career development within her socio-historical context (see Chapter 7). These questions were anchored in Super's (1990) career theory and were open-ended enough to warrant extensive exploration (Ponterotto & Park-Taylor, 2019a, 2019b). Therefore, any data related to these questions were isolated and considered for analysis. Furthermore, the data were systematically revealed by utilising Alexander's (1988, 1990) primary indicators of psychological salience.

Alexander's (1988, 1990) nine pragmatic indicators of psychological saliency were used to further aid with extracting and organising psychologically relevant data (Anderson & Dunlop, 2019). This process involved systematically extracting and organising the most meaningful data about Jane Austen's career development through a set of indicators. According to Alexander (1988), these nine indicators of salience aim to let "the data reveal itself" (p. 268). As previously mentioned, these include primacy, frequency, emphasis, distortion or error, negation, omission, isolation, uniqueness, and incompletion. These indicators, which assisted the psychobiographer in generating Jane Austen's central life-story, are discussed with reference examples next.

6.5.1.1. Primacy

According to Alexander (1988), similar to the first communications by patients in therapeutic settings being valuable clinical information, information that appears first in a text is important to psychobiographers. Therefore, any information which was presented in either prologues or opening sections were deemed valuable for data collection and extraction purposes (Elms, 1994; Schultz, 2005b). This allowed the researcher to extract data that, according to Mayer (2017), are often "the most important pieces" to narratives (p. 1). It is interesting to note that

scientific support has been found for this strategy of salience identification, as Demorest and Gleckel (2013) found that themes from first reported memories in a narrative study significantly remained important in follow-ups a month later. An illustrative example of primacy in this research undertaking was that in the Advertisement by the Authoress to Northanger Abbey (1818), Jane Austen emphasised that she had finished writing Northanger Abbey (1818) in 1803 and that she had intended it for immediate publication. However, as was mentioned in Chapter 3, the publishers had bought the book's manuscript and did not publish it until 13 years later. Clearly, by inserting the commentary in the preamble to the book, Jane was signalling that the experience of having sold her manuscript to a publisher who did not publish it felt like exploitation.

6.5.1.2. Frequency

Data that are frequently found or repeated in primary or secondary sources were considered salient (Alexander, 1990; Anderson & Dunlop. 2019; Schultz, 2005a). For this reason, any recurrences, frequently recurring facts, such as birth dates or familial reactions, were included for analysis in this study (Demorest, 2005; Yu & Yu, 2012). One such frequent pattern found was that Jane Austen's parents sent most of their children to nursemaids in a nearby village during their first years of the children's' lives (Walker, 2005). It was not until the children had reached their early childhood developmental milestones that the children could formally re-join the family (Le Faye, 2004). A second recurring pattern that would have been psychologically significant to Jane Austen can be seen in the frequent illnesses Jane endured during her lifetime (Walker, 2005). Even though it is unknown whether she later passed away due to surviving complications of an illness she endured in her childhood or due to new illness onset, it is well known that Jane had been critically ill at least twice during her life (Ray & Wheeler, 2005; Upfal, 2005). A more prominent, recurring pattern found is that the Austen

family frequently had amateur plays over holiday periods. These events would very likely have been psychologically significant to Jane Austen since they were frequently mentioned in family records (see Le Faye, 2004, 2011). Therefore, the frequency indicator not only helped frame the reconstructed narrative chronologically but also provided important insights into what Jane and the Austen family might have considered important influences in her development across time.

6.5.1.3. Emphasis

Alexander (1988) referred to two forms of emphasis as important psychological indicators of biographical salience. These are under- and overemphasis (Botha, 2017). On the one hand, information that is not emphasised enough or underplayed is important (Alexander, 1988). For example, Jane Austen did not make a great fuss about not being married by the age of 41; however, for an author who is known for her trans-historically relevant love-plots, the underemphasis of this narrative sequence is important, leading to much speculation over the years. This is referred to as underemphasis or misplaced emphasis (Schultz, 2005c; Yu & Yu, 2012). On the other hand, information that is explicitly emphasised by an author is salient for obvious reasons (Schultz, 2005a, 2005b, 2005d). For example, it should be construed as subjectively important if subjects state that they "want to emphasise" or, according to Alexander (1988), "want you to know…" something (p. 272). This is referred to as overemphasis and remains important due to such phrases being psychologically relevant to the author. It has also been noted that any italicised or uniquely stressed information by a subject should be considered salient (Yu & Yu, 2012). One such example, when Austen indicated to Martha Lloyd that she wanted Martha and her sister Cassandra to see a particular painting, West's (1814) *Christ rejection*, was clearly important to their relationship (see Austen, 2 September 1814 in Le Faye, 2011). It is interesting to note that the emphasis is placed on a

painting of Jesus, and Jane emphasised that it was the first graphic depiction of Jesus that she had agreed with (Austen in Le Faye, 2011).

6.5.1.4. Distortion or Error

Any form of narrative distortion, such as when a narrative's facticity is contradictory, and biographical error, such as when facts are stated incorrectly, are salient (Alexander, 1988, 1990). Even though biographical memory is notoriously prone to memory distortions (Nourkova et al., 2004), distorted or erroneous content in a subject's autobiographical data might emphasise a subject's underlying motives or unacknowledged needs (Mayer, 2017). Originating from the psychoanalytic traditions, slips-of-the-tongue, and distorted information were also deemed valuable (Schultz, 2005a, 2005c). In addition, factual errors and misquotations are valuable for determining possibly difficult or ignored saliencies (Yu & Yu, 2012). An example of an error in Jane Austen's letters is when she mistook an acquaintance for Major Byng, who was deceased by the time (Smothers, 2016). An important set of errors has also been highlighted after comparing more than 1100 of Jane Austen's handwritten pages to her published novels (Lawless, 2010). Jane made frequent grammar and spelling errors in her work, and a vast amount of evidence exists that Jane's editor, William Gifford, had significantly edited her novels (Lawless, 2010; Sutherland, 2011). Not only do these frequent errors highlight the saint-like preservation of Austen by her family, but it also displays significant information regarding the role of both education for females during that time, as well as the gate-keeper role that publishers such as Cadell had during the Georgian and Regency periods in England (Nokes, 1997).

6.5.1.5. Negation

According to Schultz (2005c), “strenuous disavowal, especially in the absence of positive assertion to the contrary” should be marked as extraordinarily salient (p. 44). Furthermore, negation often takes the form of denial statements, which should be identified as important, as such statements highlight information the subject wanted to distance themselves from (Anderson & Dunlop, 2019). Mayer (2017) further emphasised that the importance of a negated statement should be explored thoroughly to understand the full intention of the content. One such important negation is found in the letter Jane wrote to Anna Austen on 28 September 1814 (Le Faye, 2011). In Le Faye (2011), Austen wrote that she did not like Walter Scott (or his novels) and that she thought that he was “taking the bread out of other people’s mouths” (p. 289). This strongly negated, unprecedented statement indicated that she had felt envy towards a male writer who enjoyed considerably more fame and notoriety than females of the time did.

6.5.1.6. Omission

Yu and Yu (2012) stated that omission “also function as total or partial lacunae – an absence of expectable content” (p. 426). Therefore, any expected information not addressed is considered important psychological information (Alexander, 1990). A prominent example of omission in Jane Austen’s biographies is the frequent absence of Jane’s older brother, who had a disability (see Chapter 2). From this omission, evidence was provided that the Austen family valued their social mobility and social capital, arguably more than their children. Jane’s lack of mentioning George in any of her letters could also be attributed to speculations that she, like the others of her family, might have not known about or visited George during his lifetime. Another important omission in the literature about Jane Austen is that many of her letters do not exist anymore (Le Faye, 2011). Although the speculations and mysteries around Cassandra Austen’s choice to burn her communications with her sister in a furnace were often cited in

literature around Jane's life (see Le Faye, 2004, 2011; Nokes, 1997), no definitive information exists about why Cassandra deleted her sister's extensive communications. Regardless, the Austen family attempted to ameliorate the memory of Jane after her death, portraying her in a more saint-like light to the future public than could be inferred from raw archival data (Walker, 2005).

6.5.1.7. Isolation

Isolated information or information that did not fit the context signalled salience (Anderson & Dunlop, 2019). Therefore, the analysis included information that seemed dissonant to the context (Yu & Yu, 2012). Jane Austen, for instance, lived during a period of the abolition of slavery, as well as several revolutions and wars (White, 2006). Furthermore, Jane had two brothers who were high-ranking officials in the navy (Adkins & Adkins, 2020). However, the only two times Jane seems to have expressed opinions about slavery were in her two novels Emma (1815) and Mansfield Park (1814), where she expressed anti-slavery attitudes. Jane did not explicitly include these opinions in any other novels or letters, despite her brothers being outspoken abolitionists; her silence on these issues was read as condonement of slavery by some researchers (see Baron, 2006). In 1808, when Jane wrote almost nothing other than a few letters addressing her father's death (see Chapter 3), Jane wrote one poem, In memory of Mrs Lefroy (Ray, 2007). The late Mrs Lefroy had been a mentor and close confidant to Jane, and it could be speculated that Jane had been deeply grieving during this period due to multiple sequential losses (Garlen, 2012).

6.5.1.8. Uniqueness

Unprecedented, rare, or distinct information is the eighth form of narratively salient information (Yu & Yu, 2012). Schultz (2005d) noted that material that receives autobiographical singularity, such as when subjects proclaim to only have one memory of an incident or time, should be salient information. Demorest (2005) added that information that seems odd is particularly salient. For example, during the study, the researcher thought that it was odd that Reverend George Austen had sent his two daughters to boarding schools but not their sons, despite being an esteemed tutor who had his school (Garlen, 2012; Walker, 2005). However, the oddities of the events indicated important information about the gender attitudes prevalent at the time, as most of Jane's brothers were lodged with other boys at their Steventon home (Le Faye, 2004; Southam, 2001; Walker, 2015). Another example of a distinct or odd piece of information found during the study is that Jane Austen fainted after hearing that their family would move to Bath due to her father's retirement from the church parish (Boyle, 2011). Clearly, Jane had not expected the information after visiting her friend, nor did she take amiably to the idea (Brooks, 2019a, 2019b; Kilby, 2019).

6.5.1.9. Incompletion

Incompletion refers to permanent discontinuation of an event-sequence due to stagnation, distraction or emotional disturbance (Alexander, 1990; Botha, 2017). It could also be unfinished stories or ideas, such as when a subject avoids a conclusion to an event-sequence (Yu & Yu, 2012). The most prominent example of this in Jane Austen's narrative is the existence of the posthumously published, unfinished novels, Sanditon (1817) and The Watsons (abandoned in January 1804). Arguably, the passing of Jane's father and her later undefined illness made it difficult enough for her to pursue her writing, which she had been passionate about (Austen-Leigh, 1882; Kelly, 2017; Galen, 2012). She had, at some unknown point, never

again written further in these works. Another example includes Jane's abandonment of further pursuing her potential suitor, Thomas Lefroy, paired with Jane's statement that she was crying about his departure, indicating that she had felt an attachment towards him (see Le Faye, 2011). Even though she potentially sought closure from the hurt she may have felt (see Chapter 3), the event was considered psychologically salient enough to include in the analysis due to the interruption of the expected sequencing of events in her letters. The following section briefly elaborates on the psychohistorical matrix used in this study.

6.5.2. Psychohistorical Matrix

Yin (2018) suggested that case study researchers use data analysis matrices to organise and sort their data. Therefore, psychobiographical data are often sorted into systematised categories via a conceptual matrix (Fouché & Holz, 2015). In this study, the psychohistorical matrix was grounded in Super's developmental stages of career theory, as was suggested by Ponterotto and Park-Taylor (2019). Consequently, the most salient data about Jane Austen's career development were extracted for the study before being sorted and organised in this matrix (see *Appendix F: Psychohistorical Matrix of Jane Austen's Career Development According to Super's (1980, 1990) Theory*). These data were systematically organised, and the researcher continuously added to the dataset until a stage of relative saturation was reached (Du Plessis & Du Plessis, 2017). Thus, when almost no new data emerged from several articles or biographies about Jane Austen, the collection, extraction, and organisation of data were stopped.

Appendix F presents a graphical representation of the psychohistorical matrix of this study. Jane Austen's lifespan was divided into five periods on the horizontal axis of *Appendix F*. These periods were selected after a brief overview of the initial literature available about Jane Austen's life was conducted prior to the study (see Chapter 3). It is evident from both Chapter

3 and *Appendix F* that the periods consisted of major time-bounded sections of Jane Austen's lifespan from her birth to her death. These were respectively demarcated as (a) Steventon (1775-1787); (b) Juvenilia (1787-1793); (c) Novels (1794-1799); (d) Bath (1800-1805); and (e) Chawton (1805-1817). The vertical axis subdivided the theoretical-temporal axis of Super's (1957, 1990) developmental theory of careers across the lifespan (see Chapter 2).

On the one hand, the striped column indicates the final stage of Super's postulated theory (as described in Chapter 2) but was not considered for analysis due to Jane's premature death at the age of 41. On the other hand, the blacked-out cells of the grid indicated the cells relevant to the study of Jane Austen's career development within her socio-historical context. The following section elaborates on ethics s relevant to this study.

6.6. Ethics in this Study

The ethical integrity of psychobiographical pursuits is dependent on whether subjects are still alive, recently deceased or long-deceased (Fouché et al., 2018; Ponterotto, 2013a). However, as Jane Austen had no descendants and had passed away more than 200 years ago, these concerns were negligible in this psychobiography. The study was also conducted for personal and academic reasons; therefore, it posed minimal possible harm to the dignity of Jane Austen or her next of kin. Although Jane Austen could not give consent for the undertaking of this study on her life-span career development, a departmental research colloquium at the University of the Free State's (UFS) Department of Psychology, as well as by the Committee of Title Registrations at the Faculty of the Humanities (UFS) granted permission. These committees acted as the institutional review boards for the study on the career development of Jane Austen.

Jane's legacy and privacy were respected as only published data from the public domain, and archival material was used in this study (see Chapter 5). This minimised the risk of unearthing potentially controversial, unknown, unsavoury, or disreputable information about Jane Austen, her family or her contemporaries. Sensitivity regarding information potentially never revealed before was also continuously ensured in this study (Fouché et al., 2018; Ponterotto, 2013b). Furthermore, speculation regarding Jane Austen's illness was limited in the findings and discussion, as no primary biographical materials elucidate her condition thoroughly.

Other major ethical considerations prior to conducting the study included minimising potential privacy invasions, harm or embarrassment to Jane Austen, her relatives, or their descendants (Prenter, 2015; Runyan, 1984). This extended to Jane Austen's reputation and legacy as well, as her fame as novelist rose only after her death. Although she did not have any children, major stakeholders in Austenian communities or institutions still exist, whose livelihoods also depend on Jane's reputation. Therefore, special considerations were given to the potential impact of unfavourable findings relating to Jane's life. It should, however, be noted that to retain the integrity and the balanced neutrality of the research findings, such unfavourable findings did not necessarily constitute bias. This was an important consideration, as Ponterotto (2013a) advocated for balanced views of psychobiographical subjects.

Finally, care was taken to ground the findings in the data and to avoid speculation. Tin other words, the research findings were not presented as potential explanations, instead of definitive, causal conclusions. Due to the potential impact of psychobiographical publications could extend to the reputation and fidelity of the psychological profession in the eyes of the public and amongst researchers in other disciplines (see Ponterotto, 2017a). Therefore, the quality, integrity, and presentation of this study was viewed as an ethical matter and stated the study's limitations explicitly (see Chapter 8). Moreover, providing a nuanced account of Jane Austen's

career development, which was grounded in a theoretical model, allowed for possible alternative explanation of her career development to unfold from the data. This ensured that a balanced and fair account of Jane Austen's life was presented, due to potential ethical concerns that could arise during the study. The following section briefly summarises the steps taken to ensure trustworthiness, rigour, resonance, and meaningful coherence in this study.

6.7. Reiterating the Trustworthiness, Resonance, and Meaningful Coherence of this Study

As was noted in Chapter 5, several strategies such as data triangulation and reflexivity were used to ensure the trustworthiness of the findings, as an ethical imperative. This, paired with evaluations of the data quality, led to the exclusion of unverified or refuted information and claims in the data set (Fouché et al., 2014). The strategies that were utilised to increase the trustworthiness, resonance, and coherence in this study are briefly summarised below. Subsequently, the chapter is concluded before a discussion of the findings is undertaken.

1. The researcher prolonged engagement with the historiographic findings of Jane Austen for three years. Also documented was reflective and possible counter-transferential commentaries that explored the researcher's relationship to changing perceptions of and emerging questions about Jane Austen to ensure the study's credibility. The researcher also read and watched several books, documentaries, films, and publicly available online lectures about the life and times of Jane Austen during this study.

2. The researcher triangulated the data with several independent sources to converge conflicting findings. This was combined in a linear life-history.

3. The researcher bracketed his personal and positional biases by engaging in continuous professional reflection during the data collection, extraction,

organisation, and analysis process. As a young, unmarried male, the researcher noted possible biases relating to likely internalised patriarchal attitudes, values or thoughts that arose from researching Jane Austen while the data were collected, organised, and analysed.

4. Interpretations were grounded in the data, and possible speculations were avoided or appropriately hedged where necessary to enhance confirmability.

5. A reflexivity journal was kept by the researcher for confirmability.

6. An online audit trail of the research process was kept for the dependability of the study.

7. A psycho-historical conceptualisation (*Appendix F*) was followed, and salience indicators were used to extract and organise important data (Alexander, 1988, 1990).

8. The researcher sought analytic generalisation instead of statistical generalisation to enhance the transferability of the study.

9. The historiographic findings of Jane Austen's life and works were analysed with Super's (1957, 1980, 1990) rainbow model of career development

10. Thick description was utilised, and the researcher ensured continuous updated information about Jane Austen's socio-cultural context.

11. The researcher analysed his socio-ideological subjectivity and intersubjectivity in relation to Jane Austen. Possible counter-transferential questions and affective states during the study were especially noted.

6.8. Chapter Summary

Chapter 6 provided a description of this study's research design and methodology. To achieve this, the researcher stated the aims and objectives of the study. The sampling of Jane Austen as a psychobiographical subject was briefly explained before the data collection, extraction, and analysis procedures were clarified. Relevant examples of how each indicator of psychological salience was used were also described. A brief reiteration of ethical, trustworthiness, and rigour considerations that were undertaken in the study was also mentioned. The following chapter presents the findings of the study on Jane Austen's career development.

Chapter 7

Findings and Discussion

7.1. Introduction

In this chapter, Jane Austen's (1775 – 1817) lifespan career development is presented with specific references to her salient life-roles. This was undertaken by briefly reviewing Super's (1957, 1980, 1990) integrated career developmental theory as a conceptual lens for the study. The findings regarding Austen's life-roles delineated by chronological life-stages are also systematically presented in relation to Super's career rainbow as an integrative framework.

7.2. Reviewing the Conceptualisation Outline

The development of a career involves the amalgamation of several life-role expectations and performances in predictable ways (Stead & Watson, 2017). As stated in Chapter 2, a career is the entire sequence of positions held, including the complementary vocational, familial, and civil roles an individual played during their pre-occupational, occupational, and post-occupational life. A career is also a lifelong expression of the self-concept through vocational choices (Komiti & Moorosi, 2020). Thus, across the temporal dimension, at least, individuals cycle through five broad maxi-cycles, namely the (a) growth, (b) exploration, (c) establishment, (d) management, and (e) decline stages (Super, 1957, 1975; Wehmeyer et al., 2018). According to Schultz (2001a, 2001b, 2005a) and Ponterotto (2014), the life histories of psychobiographical subjects must be understood within a psychological approach. Therefore, Jane Austen's (1775 – 1817) career development was guided by the career stages and life-roles as proposed by Super (1980, 1990). These sequential stages have been criticised and adapted

several times over the past century (see Chapter 2), however in revisions, Super (1957) acknowledged that individuals frequently cycle through mini-cycles, which Savickas (2009) later confirmed. Therefore, individuals may be situated in specific broad stages, maxi-cycles, but they may experience countless mini-cycles that mimic the broad stages (Hess & Jepsen, 2009; Savickas, 2009). During these broad cycles, individuals are typically faced with trying to negotiate and resolve unique (maxi-cycle) life-tasks (Hartung, 2008, 2013) and playing various life-roles at intersecting, salient life-roles (Kerka, 1998). From these life-roles, certain societal and personal expectations and performances are inherent (Super, 1980). Therefore, an individual's performance as agentic actor in relation to self- and observer expectations allows the individual to construct the self-concept sequentially, which ultimately leads to an increasingly mature and adaptable vocational identity (Komiti & Moorosi, 2020; Schreuder & Coetzee, 2016; Super, 1980, 1990). Super (1980, 1990) attempted to integrate his models several times during his life (see Chapter 3 for a description of his career rainbow).

The career rainbow is often used to represent an individual's career development graphically (Super, 1980). Super (1980) plotted individuals' life-roles and their age-graded career development stages in an easily understood heuristic (Savickas, 1994a, 1994b). Therefore, Jane Austen's career development is graphically illustrated in *Appendix H: Jane Austen's Career Rainbow*. Herein, Jane's career developmental trajectory, divided by her life-roles, is illustrated. Her life stage development can be seen horizontally. Vertically, however, the social roles Jane played during her lifespan are illustrated.

The researcher was also aware that Jane Austen's life and career development could only be studied within the context of her cultural, social, and historical context. Therefore, sensitivity to this aspect of the study was provided by uncovering Jane Austen's career development within five significant chronological periods of her life, namely Steventon (1775 – 1787); Juvenilia (1787 – 1789); Novels (1789 – 1800); Bath (1800- 1805); and *Chawton*

(1805 – 1817). Biographical data in these life-stages were organised, categorised, and analysed in relation to Super's (1980, 1990) career stages and substages in a psychohistorical matrix (see *Appendix F*). Where pertinent, historical events that affected Jane's life-history are discussed in the parallel historical stage too. During the study, each substage also included a relevant analysis of life-roles salient in the corresponding life-stage. For this reason, Jane is analysed as the integrator of her various life-roles across time. An exploration of her implementation of her self-concept, particularly as a writer, follows next.

7.3. Jane Austen's Rainbow Career Development

Psychobiographies aim to reconstruct life-histories within psychological frameworks (Botha, 2017; Runyan, 2019; Van Genechten, 2009). Therefore, a reconstruction of Jane Austen's career development is presented systematically. After being tended to by her sister and life-long companion, Jane Austen passed away at the age of 41 due to health complications that were not treatable with the medical care of the historical period (Upfal, 2013). This meant that Jane, as speculated in relation to Super's developmental stages (described in Chapter 3), would not necessarily have progressed further than the maintenance stage of career development. Subsequently, only the first three stages of career development (growth, exploration, establishment) are used to describe and reconstruct Jane's career development, according to her various life-roles in depth. Therefore, brief overviews of the three relevant developmental stages, according to Super's developmental stage theory, are presented before undertaking thorough discussions of Jane Austen's career development. The following section explores Jane Austen in relation to the Growth Stage of her career development, with discussions of substages delineated sequentially.

7.3.1. Growth Stage (birth – 14 years)

The Growth Stage is an essential, although often neglected, stage in career development (Super, 1975, 1980, 1990). Despite infants and children often assumed as passive recipients of their situational and personal determinants, they actively shape their potentials in various ways (Robertson, 2016; Super, 1975). This stage ranges from infancy to about the end of middle childhood. It is mainly important due to the rapid maturational experiences and changes in social environments that infants and toddlers undergo. In terms of career development, children are subtly confronted with various life-tasks that are typically representative of the life-roles they undertake, but these roles progressively intersect (Super, 1975, 1980, 1990). In terms of their careers, which are constellations of intersecting life roles across the life-span (Super, 1990), the Growth Stage is primarily important because it is the stage in which individuals develop their self-concepts, as well as attitudes and needs that relate to the work-world (Komiti & Moorosi, 2020). The Growth Stage is divided into four substages that children need to negotiate, namely (a) the prevocational-curiosity, (b) fantasy, (c) interest, and (d) capacity tasks (Weiten et al., 2018). These subtasks occur in sequential order and are discussed according to Jane Austen's career development between December 1775 and December 1789.

7.3.1.1. Substage 1: Prevocational curiosity (0-3 years)

During the first substage of development, children show almost no indication of career concern, interest, or commitment (Katz, Rudolph, & Zacher, 2019; Savickas, 1997; Weiten et al., 2018). However, infants and toddlers increase their autonomy, which often results in adequate later career exploration and agency (Hartung, 2013). Although infants and toddlers are largely dependent on their families and caretakers at this stage, they are not passive receivers of their life roles: they actively shape and contribute to their own development (Gross, 2019). Therefore, although the first substage of the Growth Stage is largely prevocational, it remains

important for career development due to the development of fundamental attitude for adaptable and mature career development: autonomy and agency (Gross, 2019; Robertson, 2016; Super, 1975). The following section briefly summarises the study's findings that relate to this stage before the data are discussed in relation to Jane Austen's career development during the Growth Stage.

7.3.1.1.1. Steventon (December 1775 – December 1779)

Jane Austen was born to Reverend George and Mrs Cassandra Austen on 16 December 1775, in Hampshire, England (Adkins & Adkins, 2013; Austen-Leigh, 1882; Garlen, 2012; Kelly, 2017; Le Faye, 2004; Walker, 2005; White, 2006). According to Le Faye (2004), the winter of 1775 and 1776 was mysteriously cold, and Jane Austen's birth came "without a great deal of warning" to her father (p. 27). Her mother experienced no birth complications during Jane's birth and was overjoyed to welcome Jane to the family (Austen-Leigh, 1882; Le Faye, 2011). Only a day after she was born, Jane was baptised privately; however, she was only baptised publicly in the Steventon church on 5 April 1776 (Le Faye, 2004).

When Jane was weaned at about three months, her parents sent her to live with a nursemaid in the nearby village (Ard, 2013; Walker, 2005). During the Georgian period, the period that spans between the rise and fall of the "mad King George" in England (Adkins & Adkins, 2013), it was common for middle and upper-class parents to send their children to live with nursemaids for the first few months (Walker, 2005). Although her parents regularly visited her, she was frequently brought to visit the parsonage (Austen-Leigh, 1871, Le Faye, 2004), spending the majority of her early childhood years with Elizabeth and John Littleworth at Cheesedown Farm (Le Faye, 2004, 2011). Most of her siblings, except George Austen, were also sent to live with the Littleworth family for the first two years of their lives, at least until they had reached their

early childhood milestones, such as weaning from diapers, talking, and walking (Ard, 2013; Walker, 2005). As a child of Mrs and Reverend Austen, Jane was born into a well-educated family, with six siblings born before her (Le Faye, 1997, 2011). Thus, Jane was the seventh child and second daughter to her parents (Ard, 2013; Garlen, 2012; Souter, 2004). Nevertheless, 1779 was a time of great changes for the Austen family structure (Walker, 2005). The introduction of a younger infant into the household preceded the eldest Austen brother James' matriculation from Saint John's college, and he entered Oxford University to study to be a clergyman due to Founders Kin Entry privileges from Mrs Cassandra Austen's side (Boyle, 2011; Le Faye, 1997, 2004; Souter, 2004).

It was almost sacred when Jane and her sister Cassandra were gifted a baby brother by their mother on 23 June 1779 (Le Faye, 2004). Besides housing his wife, two daughters, and four of his five sons in the house, the scholarly Reverend George also lodged several boys to support his income (Austen-Leigh, 1882; Boyle, 2011; Le Faye, 2004). The ratio of boys to girls was disproportionate in the Steventon Rectory (Walker, 2005). Thus, as the only two girls, Jane and her sister, Cassandra, became a cohesive dyad in the household by the time Jane was only three and a half (Le Faye, 2004; Souter, 2004). They enjoyed each other's company extensively and became "twin-like" (Souter, 2004). Fortunately, by the time the sisters were old enough to talk, they had apparently become amusing companions to Mrs Austen (Le Faye, 2004). Table 7.3.1.1.1. summarises Jane's significant experiences between December 1775 and December 1779.

Table 7.3.1.1.1

Summary of Jane Austen's significant experiences during the prevocational-curiosity substage of the Growth Stage by year

Substage	Year	Significant experiences
Prevocational-curiosity (0-3 years)	Dec 1775–Dec 1777	Jane Austen, born in Steventon, Hampshire, in England on 16 December 1775. Jane is baptised privately on 17 December 1775 and publicly on 5 April 1776 due to the cold. Jane is sent to live with Elizabeth and John Littleworth at Cheesedown Farm for two years.
	Dec 1777–Dec 1778	Jane continues living with the Littleworths while reaching her childhood milestones.
	Dec 1778-Dec 1779	Jane and her sister become twin-like companions by three and a half. On 23 June, their younger brother, Henry, is born. James, their eldest brother, matriculates from St John's College and enters Oxford University on 3 July.

7.3.1.1.2. Discussion (December 1775 – December 1779)

According to Super (1980), neonates, infants, and toddlers are cast in two salient roles: the role of the dependant and the role of the child. Although not much is known about Jane's experiences during this stage, after being baptised, she was immediately faced with various societal expectations; her performance in these roles prompted her parents' reactions towards her. It is suggested that through the interaction of these first two life-roles, Jane developed the fundamental attitudes that would later characterise her career, namely autonomy and agency.

Firstly, the Austen siblings' dependent roles were spent outside of their family home (Austen-Leigh, 1871; Le Faye, 2004; Walker, 2005). Jane was still an infant by the time she was relocated to Elizabeth and John Littleworth at Cheesedown Farm, where she was helped to reach her early childhood milestones, as was expected from the theoretical framework (Le Faye, 2004, 2011; Super, 1980, 1990). In the context and class that Jane Austen was born into,

this was not a strange occurrence, as sending an infant to nursemaids was a common practice for the middle and upper classes during the Georgian and Regency Periods in England (Ard, 2013; Le Faye, 2004). Therefore, while Jane was strongly dependent on her caretakers' nurturance, she was positioned in the role of both dependant and child, as was expected from the literature (White, 2014).

Jane's second life-role, that of child to her parents, Reverend George and Mrs Cassandra Austen was initiated by her birth. In this role, she was expected to reach her childhood milestones before she returned home. Jane's parents frequently visited her at Cheesedown farm, and there is evidence that she accompanied visits by the Littleworths, who were family friends of the Austens (Le Faye, 2004). Like most of her siblings, Jane reached her childhood milestones such as teething, being weaned from diapers, talking, and walking, and she returned home by the age of three in 1778 (Walker, 2008). In contrast, her second eldest brother, George Austen, did not perform according to the societal expectations for a child of his age due to developmental complications, and he was sent to live on a farm in Monk Sherborne for the rest of his life (Ard, 2013; McAdam, 2015; Tomalin, 1999). Although it was a common practice for middle- and upper-class families in Regency Period England to send children with disabilities away into custodial care, the sanction was harsh enough that it could be reinterpreted as a performance expectation for the child role. Thus, if one could not reach your childhood milestones, regardless of the reasons given, one may be displaced from the role and the primary theatre of the home. Therefore, it is clear that Jane was not only expected to reach her childhood milestones on time, but she performed according to her parents' and the middle- and upper-class society's expectations during this period.

Thirdly, due to being her parents' seventh child, Jane also immediately entered the sibling role, even though the role had not become salient by this stage yet. Nevertheless, no expectation seems to have been placed on her to perform in this role at this point. This finding supports the

hypothesis that the sibling role is not incredibly salient at this stage, despite possibly defaulting into the role. However, Jane and Cassandra became close friends by three and a half, demonstrating that the sibling role became more salient as Jane aged. Furthermore, when a new infant, Henry, was introduced into the Austen household on 23 June 1778, there seems to have been no expectation of rearing responsibilities for her (Boyle, 2011; Le Faye, 2011).

In addition, Katz et al. (2019) found that during these early roles, no career commitment concerns are expressed by infants and toddlers. Therefore, as expected, no evidence of any career-related concerns nor career commitment indicators were found in the biographical data about Jane Austen's earliest years. However, even though the home is often expected to be the primary theatre for individuals during the Growth Stage of development (White, 2014), Jane's prevocational-curiosity substage was clearly influenced by the Littleworth family. Jane spent the first two years of her life reaching her early childhood milestones outside of her family's home as a dependant, but, as a child, she was regularly visited by and taken to visit her parents too (Amy, 2019). Therefore, it could reasonably be speculated that Jane did not experience significant issues with developing either autonomy or agency, as she met her parents' performance expectations for this stage. The following section explores Jane Austen's development between 1779 and 1786, corresponding with the Fantasy Substage of her development.

7.3.1.2. Substage 2: Fantasy (4 to 10 years)

During the second substage of the Growth Stage, four to six-year-olds and middle children develop language skills rapidly, and they engage in increasingly complex pretend-play tasks as they mature cognitively, socially, and physically (Dunn & Craig, 2019; Kolb & Wishaw, 2015; Myers, 2013; Super, 1975, 1990, 1996). They also intentionally model significant role-models

and often engage in fantasy play (Super, 1975, 1990; Super et al., 1996). For children in this stage of career development, fantasy roleplay often takes the form of mimicking same-gendered role models in their immediate environments (Super, 1990). The life-roles expand with the expansion of life theatres (Super, 1975). For example, the development of the scholar role frequently occurs at the same time as the middle child's primary theatres expand to the school or the classroom (White, 2014).

7.3.1.2.1. Steventon (December 1779 – December 1785)

By the summer of 1782, a few months after the birth of Henry, the Austen family started arranging amateur plays for entertainment (Gay, 2006). Jane became independent and entertained herself by scurrying and playing without supervision, according to their mother, even though she was still too young to take part in the plays (Le Faye, 2004). Nevertheless, Charles and Jane rode in a chaise that summer, making Mrs Cassandra Austen proud (Le Faye, 2004, 2011). James, Jane's older brother and sole heir of their father's wealth, matriculated from Oxford just before the Christmas of 1782, and he and his siblings arranged and put on amateur performances of sentimental tragedies, such as *Matilda* (1775) in December 1782 (Gay, 2006; Souter, 2006). Even though Cassandra might have had a small role to play in the siblings' amateur production, it is unlikely that Jane or her younger brother, Charles, would have participated, as they were still too young for dramatic roles at this time (Gay, 2006; Le Faye, 2004, 2011). Their older brother, James, added a versified epilogue, and her other brother, Edward, performed in this play with a friend of his (Le Faye, 2011). Therefore, they were awe-inspired spectators, as Jane later wrote about similar events in Mansfield Park (1814). The family practiced and performed the plays in either Reverend George's dining room or his large barn across the road (Le Faye, 2004), and family members frequently visited and acted too (Gay, 2006; Le Faye, 1979). Due to James' educational achievements, graduating with a

Bachelor of Arts degree, he could take his young sister, Jane, on a tour of all of the Oxford University libraries, halls, and chapels the next Spring (Le Faye, 2004).

By 1783, between 13 and 20 people stayed in Steventon Rectory, which played a role in Jane's parents' decision to send Jane, Cassandra, and their cousin to Mrs Anne Cawley's school (Nokes, 1997; Walker, 2005). One of their brothers, Edward, was also adopted by the wealthy Knight family in the same year, partly due to wanting to free up space in the household and partly due to the Knight family's inability to conceive their own children (Grover, 2013; Kimber, 2020). Nevertheless, Mrs Cawley's school, originally stationed in Oxford, soon moved closer to the Southampton ports, where sailors returning from the various wars spent time (Kelly, 2017; Le Faye, 2004, 2011, 2015). This led to a shortened educational experience as the girls became sick with typhus fever after sailors returned to the docks from Gibraltar in August (Le Faye, 2004). Where Jane, her sister, and their cousin hastily returned home after their cousin managed to inform her mother of the disastrous circumstances at the school (Le Faye, 2004; Walker, 2005), Mrs Jane Cooper, who saved the girls, died due to catching typhus fever from the girls (Walker, 2005). Jane remained seriously ill for the most part of 1783, staying at the family home in Steventon again (Walker, 2005). However, as soon as Jane started to feel better, she wanted to join her sister on her new journey to the respected Abbey School for Girls in Reading (Lefroy, 1864; Walker, 2005). There, Jane and her sister could work hard on learning to read and write while being able to enjoy their convivial time with other girls in the school (Le Faye, 2004). While Jane was at this school, she enjoyed writing experiments, as she started writing short fantastical stories, poems, and other literary pieces (Sutherland, 2018). The headmistress, Ms La Tournelle, was a strange woman to Jane; she had a cork leg and could not speak a word of French, despite claiming to be French (Le Faye, 2004; Walker, 2005). Nevertheless, Jane was encouraged in her theatre education by Mrs La Tournelle; Jane also took needlework, French, history, geography, basic arithmetic, and music classes at the Abbey

school (Le Faye, 2004; Walker, 2005). She started taking piano lessons and learned to draw (Le Faye, 2004, 2011; Spanswick, 2013). With her newfound interest, Jane thus started collecting sheet music she enjoyed from 1785, and she arduously copied and bound manuscripts of music she liked (Austen, 1867; Ferro, 2015; Libin, 1997; Spanswick, 2013). Table 7.3.1.2.1. summarises Jane's significant experiences during the Fantasy substage, between December 1779 and December 1786.

Table 7.3.1.2.1

Summary of Jane Austen's significant experiences between 1779 and 1786, corresponding with the Fantasy Substage of the Growth Stage

Substage	Year	Significant experiences
Fantasy (4-10 years)	Dec 1779 –Dec 1782	Jane and her little brother, Charles, played unescorted and rode in a chaise.
		Jane was mentioned in the family letters for the first time since her birth.
		The Austen family produced *Matilda* (1775) as an amateur production. Jane was a spectator.
		James took Jane on a tour of the Oxford facilities, including libraries, chapels, and halls.
	Dec 1782 – Dec 1783	Jane, Cassandra, and their cousin were sent for private tutoring in Oxford with Ms Anne Cawley.
		In August, typhus-infected troops returned from Gibraltar.
		Jane became infected with typhus-fever after Mrs Cawley failed to let the parents of her students know of the outbreak.
		Mrs Jane Cooper died due to the typhoid fever she had contracted from rescuing her daughters.
		Jane was severely sick for most of the year.
		When Jane began feeling better, she stubbornly wanted to join her sister at school again.
		The Austen family performed *The Rivals.*
		Jane and Cassandra started attending the prestigious Abbey school for girls; they lived in the boarding school. Rev. George paid £35 per girl, per term for boarding and schooling.
		Jane learned to spell, read, and write.
		Jane's brother, Edward, is adopted by the wealthy Knight family.
	Dec 1783 – Dec 1784	The girls were educated in French, history, geography, and basic arithmetic too.
		She also learned how to play the piano, to draw and to do needlework.
	Dec 1784 – Dec 1785	Jane worked hard and had time to spent talking to friends.
		The mysterious Mrs La Tournelle, a lover of theatre, taught plays as part of the girls' education.
	Dec 1785 – Dec 1786	Jane started experimenting with short stories and poems.
		Jane started collecting hand-copied manuscripts of popular sheet music.

7.3.1.2.2. Discussion (December 1779 – December 1786)

As Jane entered the fantasy stage of her development by the end of 1779, her participation and performance in her life-roles increased in complex ways. By the time Jane was about three and a half, her language skills had developed to such an extent that she became a close companion to her mother (Le Faye, 2004). However, the evidence indicated that Jane gradually de-emphasised the saliency of her dependant role during the fantasy substage, favouring her role as daughter to her mother and father. Nevertheless, Jane's imaginative, practical and witty mother, Cassandra, was also known to recite poetry at the request of others and frequently told interesting stories (Ard, 2013; Austen-Leigh, 1882; Southam, 2001). Jane's later love for telling stories might be partly due to her observations of her mother during this stage. However, even though little objective evidence could be found to support this finding unabatedly, it could be reasonable to suspect that she modelled some of her mother's characteristics, given Jane's later development as a master storyteller (Steeves, 2020). This is especially important, as this demonstrates that Jane modelled a same-gendered role model (Araújo & Taveira, 2019; White, 1995). Furthermore, the saliency of her role as sibling increased gradually during this stage: from developing a close bond with her sister, Cassandra, in the previous stage, to independently scampering away with her younger brother in the summer of 1782 (Le Faye, 2004).

Clearly, Jane was becoming more cognitively and socially mature during this stage, as the literature on her life seems to progressively delineate the life-story of a girl who was becoming more socially aware and participative (Le Faye, 2004, 2011). Firstly, Jane and her sister frequently played together, which could be seen as an expression of her sibling expectations (Amy, 2019). A concrete example of Jane's emerging sibling expectations could be observed in the allusion of Jane and her sister's frequent playing with their little brother, Henry (Copeland & McMaster, 2011; Le Faye, 2006). Furthermore, Jane rode in a chaise with her little brother in the summer of 1982, and the two of them were mentioned in her mother's letters

with pride, for the first time in the family tradition (Le Faye, 2004). As Jane matured, her bond with her sister seemed to strengthen dramatically (Amy, 2019). This bond remained robust throughout this stage of her development, as Jane wanted to do everything her older sister did (Walker, 2005). For example, even though she became tremendously ill for almost an entire year at her first education facility, she wanted to follow her sister to a new school as soon as she recovered (Walker, 2005). Although it could be speculated that Jane may have modelled her mother or her principal, Mrs La Tournelle, during this stage, evidence exists that she might have chosen either her sister or her mother as behavioural model by the age of 10 (see Chapter 3).

Secondly, as Jane matured cognitively and socially, she seems to have entered what Super (1990) termed the leisurite role. It is clear from the previous examples that Jane frequently engaged in play during this stage. Not only did Jane enjoy playing with her little brother and her older sister, but she also enjoyed the company of other girls in either the garden or the main facility after their schoolwork was done at the Abbey School for Girls (Le Faye, 2004). Play during the fantasy stage is especially important as children internalise their life roles with games (Cinamon & Yeshayahu, 2020). Therefore, the saliency of Jane's playfulness at this stage could be attributed to her active role shaping in the fantasy stage of her prevocational career development (Gay, 2006; Le Faye 2004). Furthermore, Jane witnessed her older siblings' amateur productions of *Matilda* (1775) in 1782 and *The Rivals* in 1784. Although she could only take on the spectator role at that stage, she progressively became involved with the amateur productions at later stages of her development. Jane also enjoyed learning to play the piano and to sing to her family by this stage, as she started to collect and painstakingly copy her first sheet music by 1785 (Austen, 1867; Ferro, 2015; Libin, 1997; Spanswick, 2013).

It can also be seen that as Jane's social milieu changed, her social roles also expanded. The emergence of Jane as a scholar seems to coincide with her eldest brother's guide of the Oxford

chapels, halls, and libraries, as well as the overcrowding and funding considerations at Steventon Rectory (Le Faye, 2006). Where most of her male siblings remained in the care of her father's tutorage, one of her brothers was (at the reluctance of the Austen parents) adopted by the wealthy Knight family (Kimber, 2020; Stafford, 2017). However, Jane, her sister, and her cousin started attending Mrs Ann Cawley's tutor facilities in Oxford when Jane was only seven years old (Pibworth, 2017). This was harshly interrupted due to a bout of typhus fever, but Jane and her sister soon returned to a much more prestigious, yet safer, school, namely Mrs La Tournelle's, Abbey School for Girls in Reading (Stafford, 2017). Here, the girls experienced some of their first documented interactions with other girls of their age, which would allow for the interaction between their life-roles to take place (White, 2014). Jane was also exposed to a rigorous education at the Abbey School in Reading, where she learned to read, write, and do basic arithmetic (Le Faye, 2004; Walker, 2005). Jane was guided by the strange theatre-fanatic, Mrs La Tournelle, and the teachers she employed at the school (Stafford, 2017). It has been suggested that, under their guidance, Jane took French, some Italian, history, geography, needlework, and drawing too (Walker, 2005). In addition, Jane frequently had piano lessons, and a rigorous theatre education was included in the girls' curriculum, due to Mrs La Tournelle's passionate advocation of the theatre (Gay, 2006).

Nevertheless, Jane produced some of her first writing compositions at this school and was encouraged to write and experiment with short stories and poems (Sutherland, 2018). Although her writings that remain from this period seem juvenile and projection-filled, it is clear that she enjoyed it (Le Faye, 2004, 2006). Jane's boarding and education at the Abbey School in Reading was unfortunately cut short due to her father being unable to support their education financially anymore (Le Faye, 2004).[17] It is, nevertheless, important to note that education was

[17] This was probably due to Reverend Austen's partial income from his crops literally freezing over during the same year (Pibworth, 2017).

not compulsory for either gender during the Georgian period; therefore, Jane and her sister's interrupted education was a privilege that many other parents of the era could not afford (Pibworth, 2017).

Although no clear career commitment was found during this stage of Jane's development, it is clear that she started to experiment with activities that she was interested in (Nokes, 1998). Jane continued playing the piano and writing throughout her life, with only brief interruption periods for both activities (Le Faye, 2004, 2006; Worsley, 2017). Career commitment, however, is not expected for middle children, according to Katz et al.'s (2019) predictions. Another interesting finding was that Jane's imaginative, practical and witty mother, Cassandra, was known to recite poetry at the request of others, frequently telling interesting stories, whereas Reverend George, Jane's father, was known for his calmness and intelligence (Ard, 2013; Austen-Leigh, 1882; Southam, 2001). It seems that, to some extent, at least, Jane might have modelled her mother, Cassandra, too.

It is also interesting to note that during this period, Jane experienced several interruptions in her formal schooling during these years, primarily due to interactions with emerging conflicting life-roles. For instance, the onset of typhoid fever placed Jane Austen into the patient, child, and dependant roles while simultaneously withdrawing her from the student role for an entire year (Le Faye, 2006). If it were not for Jane's stubborn insistence on joining her sister at the new school, Jane might not have been sent to the Abbey school in Reading. Therefore, Jane's role as sister helped reinitiate her into the scholar role before finally withdrawing due to financial pressures. The following section presents Jane Austen's career development during the Interest Substage.

7.3.1.3. Substage 3: Interest (11-13 years)

The interest substage typically occurs between 11 and 13 years of age (Stead & Watson, 2017). During this short substage, children develop attitudinal components in their lives and careers (Briddick et al., 2018). Therefore, their likes and dislikes are formed more concretely, and their interests in various prevocational activities increase (Briddick et al., 2018). Children in this age group also begin to think about their future careers more abstractly due to various successions in their cognitive development (Kolb & Wishaw, 2015; Santrock, 2016). For this reason, individuals develop concern over their futures, which directly influences their career aspirations (Stead & Watson, 2017). However, Turner (2020) found that children often base their career aspirations on their stereotypes of social mobility. Therefore, the career concern subtask plays an important role in the career development of middle children and early adolescents (Super, 1975, 1980, 1990).

7.3.1.3.1. Steventon (December 1786 – December 1787)

After their brief, yet life-changing education at the Abbey School for Girls, Jane Austen and her sister were forced to withdraw from the school due to a lack of further funding in December 1786 (Walker, 2005). As schooling was not compulsory during this period of King George III's reign, the reintroduction of the girls into their Steventon Rectory would not have been odd (Le Faye, 2004). However, many women were home-educated during the Georgian period, and luckily, the Austen family valued education highly (Corley, 1998; Garlen, 2012). In addition, the people at Steventon Rectory were liberally engaged and entertained (Le Faye, 2011). Evidently, the environment at Steventon served a pedagogical role: Jane was fortunate enough to have moved back into a home where her liberally educated father was preparing boys for entrance into universities, and he had amassed an enormous collection of Western books in his private home library (Walker, 2005). Jane enjoyed reading from the library, and she

increasingly started to read for the family as entertainment (Pandey, 2020). Jane also started to write from her direct experiences, and she widely experimented with form and content (Pandey, 2020; Southam, 2001; Toner, 2020). Furthermore, Jane started taking piano lessons at Steventon with the renowned Dr George Chard, the assistant organist at the Westminster Cathedral; she continued to collect and copy music that she enjoyed practicing (Claassen, 2013; Kilby, 2019; Spanswick, 2013).

7.3.1.3.2. Juvenilia (December 1787 – December 1788)

Upon her return to Steventon, Jane also enjoyed reading and was encouraged by her father and brothers to read widely (Southam, 2001). This was atypical, as women were strongly encouraged to read conduct books instead of romance and gothic fiction during the Georgian era (Brooks, 2019b; Johnston, 2010). According to Southam (2001), Jane was acquainted with Shakespeare's plays and works by Fielding, Sheridan, Fanny Burney, Jonson, Richardson, and Stern. She particularly enjoyed reading the early novels of Sir Walter Scott, Samuel Richardson, and Frances Burney during this time (Garlen, 2012). Jane also enjoyed reading collections of classic and contemporary plays in the library; her older brothers frequently brought their love of theatrical works from Oxford (Gay, 2006; Le Faye, 2004).

Isolated against the cold backdrop of the war and conflict-ridden realm, the Austen family continued performing amateur productions of plays for entertainment in the comfort of their Steventon home (Le Faye, 1979; Southam, 2001). The family barn was converted into a small theatre in which the young members of the family could take part in practicing and performing plays during the warm summer months; however, over the Christmas period, the family performed in the main house (Gay, 2006; Southam, 2001). When they visited, Jane's cousins enjoyed their leisure time with the Austen family reciprocally (Le Faye, 2004, 2006, 2011).

Other popular forms of entertainment included rhyming charades and reading to the rest of the family (Southam, 2001). However, soon, this would not be enough, as Jane started writing satires and parodies of popular works for her family's entertainment (Southam, 2001). Table 7.3.1.3.1. summarises Jane's significant experiences during the Interest substage, between December 1786 and December 1788.

Table 7.3.1.3.1

Summary of Jane Austen's significant experiences during the Interest Substage of the Growth Stage

Substage	Year	Significant experiences
Interest (11-12 years)	Dec 1786–Dec 1787	Due to a lack of funds, Jane and Cassandra had to withdraw from the Abbey school. They returned home in December 1786. Jane's further education was mostly self-educative at Steventon, even though she had access to various tutors and a variety of books in the library. Jane started taking piano lessons at Steventon under the guidance of Dr George William Chard, who frequently visited Steventon for her lessons. Jane's father and brothers encouraged her to write. Jane started experimenting with short stories and poems. Jane's family entertained themselves with rhyming charades and group readings. The Austen family performed *The Wonder! A Woman Keeps a Secret* (1714) during the Christmas period.
	Dec 1787–Dec 1788	Jane practiced the pianoforte every morning before breakfast. She continued her music lessons. Jane enjoys reading to herself and her family. The family entertain one another in an intellectually engaging environment. She is encouraged by her brothers and father to read widely. She enjoyed reading early novels of Samuel Richardson, Sir Walter Scott, and Frances Burney. Jane sings and plays piano for her family. Jane writes many more short stories.

7.3.1.3.3. Discussion (December 1776 – December 1788)

It is clear from the evidence collected that Jane Austen continued her student role when she returned to Steventon. According to Super (1980), life-roles sometimes become prominent in other life-theatres, for example, in the home, and the life-roles may be interrupted at any point. Even though Jane's student role had been disrupted by her second removal out of a school environment (Walker, 2005), Jane continued studying and learning for years to come (Le Faye,

2004). Firstly, Jane had access to her father's extensive library, and it seems that the atmosphere in the Steventon household was intellectually stimulating to its inhabitants (Adkins & Adkins, 2013; Garlen, 2012; Walker, 2005). Fortunately, Jane did not consider education as a once-off or space-bound activity, and she valued her self-education (Corley, 1998). She continued to read from lending libraries (Byrne, 2014). Therefore, even though she and her sister had to withdraw from the Abbey School for Girls, she was supported by her family members while taking her education into her own hands (Garlen, 2012; Pandey, 2020). This seems to be a sign of her own agency and independence.

At this stage, Jane's cognitive development played an enormous role in the development of her career as an author (McMaster, 2017). During the interest substage, which typically occurs between 11 to 13 years of age, middle children develop the attitudinal component to their careers (White, 2014). Jane was developing an interest in writing, reading, and music by the interest substage of the growth maxi-cycle. She demonstrated her interest in this prevocational activity by continuously experimenting with form and function in her writing, which would later become the core of her career (Gay, 2008; Le Faye, 2004; Sutherland, 2018). Her affinity for writing seems to be further demonstrated by her increased experimentation with short stories, plays, and poems during the next few years of her life (Gay, 2006). These early writings were later collected in a three-volume Juvenilia collection that the family distributed amongst themselves (Southam, 2001; Sutherland, 2018). It seems that these writings were motivated by her role as leisurite and member of the Austen family, due to her possible desire to transcend from being a spectator to being an active contributor to the family's entertainment[18] (Gay, 2006). Furthermore, Jane enjoyed reading widely, and she was encouraged to do so by her

[18] The reader is reminded that the Austen's frequently performed rhyming charades and group readings, and they also performed *Wonder! A woman keeps a secret* (1714) during this period of Jane's development. As was previously noted, Jane was inspired by this performance specifically, as she later revelled in a similar event in her novel *Mansfield Park* (1814).

father and her older brothers (Steeves, 2020). She demonstrated that she had a thorough knowledge of a wide variety of Western canon books and theatrical works and seemed to enjoy reading the works of Richardson, Scott, and Burney (Garlen, 2012). It is interesting to note the intersections between her role as child to her father (who was a tutor for boys), her role as sister to her older brothers (who were Oxford-educated), and her role as leisurite specifically. Not only did they validate her attempts at moving from spectator to contributor in the family, but they seemed to encourage her to write and read to them (Southam, 2001; Steeves, 2020; Walker, 2005). Lastly, Jane developed a progressive interest in music, as she sang and performed the pianoforte pieces that she was collecting for her family members (Kilby, 2019; Sanborn, 2010; Spanswick, 2013). Jane was fortunate enough to gain access to a prominent music teacher, Dr George William Chard (the Head of Cathedral Music at the Winchester Cathedral at the time) after she moved back to Steventon Rectory (Brooks, 2019b; Claassen, 2013; Kilby, 2019; Spanswick, 2013). However, Jane practiced conscientiously every morning, and was rewarded with more pianoforte lessons at the Steventon Rectory (Jane Austen and Classical Music, 2020; Kilby, 2019; Spanswick, 2013).

It is also interesting to note that Jane would most likely not have been encouraged to aspire to become a professional musician due to the prevailing norms of the middle and upper classes of Georgian society in England (Kimber, 2014). This was largely because good mucisianship and artistic merits were supposed indicators of a woman's educational achievements during this period in England's history (Libin, 1997), specifically demonstrating a woman's opportunity for social mobility through marriage (Brooks, 2019a, 2019b; Claassen, 2013). Possibly, in preparation for a later spouse role, music education signalled an opportunity for social mobility to the Austen household. Thus, the prevailing patriarchal attitudes held by the Georgian and Regency England's upper classes assigned value to the social acceptability of music education over and beyond other forms of "unacceptable" knowledge for women

(Claassen, 2013). Therefore, Jane was likely encouraged in her interest in music with the hopes of her later social mobility, which the Austen family seemed to value highly (Fergus & Wood, 2016).

Nevertheless, the speculation that Jane might have possibly aspired to become proficient in playing piano at this stage, based on a stereotypical perception of her own possible social mobility, could be supported by findings from more recent studies of this stage in career development (Turner, 2020). It is unknown whether Jane received the opportunity to continue lavish music lessons, despite her father not being able to afford her prestigious schooling at the Abbey School for Girls, purely out of her enjoyment and performance in her leisurite role, in preparation for her future role as potential spouse, or for a future role as worker or pianist. Regardless, it is clear that Jane started demonstrating some though variable, career commitment by this stage, as her interests during this stage in her development would continue throughout her life (see Chapter 3). This is not inconsistent with the findings of Katz, Rudolph, and Zacher (2019) or Super (1990), who showed that career commitment, although minimally, typically starts increasing during this stage of a middle child's development.

7.3.1.4. Substage 4: Capacity (13-14 years)

In the last stage of the Growth Stage, which lasts for about two years between the ages of 13 and 15 (Briddick et al., 2018; Super, 1975), children start identifying their work-related needs, values, and attitudes (Nagy et al., 2019). Children often acquire work-related competencies and habits through their increased agency during this stage (Stead & Watson, 2017; Super, 1955, 1980, 1990; Watson & Stead, 2015). Early adolescents also often evaluate their emerging competencies against the requirements of their future careers (Briddick et al., 2018; Super, 1957, 1975; Super & Bohn, 1970).

7.3.1.4.1. Juvenilia (December 1787 – December 1795)

Jane started producing an enormous number of short stories by the time she entered adolescence, including plays, poems, and letters (Gay, 2006; Le Faye, 1979, 2006). For example, Jane wrote projective, semi-autobiographical stories, such as *Henry and Eliza* (circa 1787 – 1790), and frequently dedicated the works to family members (Le Faye, 1979; Sabor, 2009)[19]. Jane also started to write parodies and satire of popular fiction of the time (Carabine, 2013). She read widely and started writing comedic adaptations of popular works for her family's entertainment (Gay, 2006; Southam, 2001). One such comedic adaptation was *Sir Charles Grandison*, based on Samuel Richardson's (1753-1754) courtship novel, *The History of Sir Charles Grandison* (Garlen, 2012). However, these stories were meant for the intimate ears of her family members, and therefore, her stories were collected and distributed by her family in what is now known as her Juvenilia[20] (Southam, 2001).

In 1788, Jane's youngest brother, Henry, started studying at Oxford University, just like their older brother, James (Boyle, 2011). Consequently, James and Henry were editing the subversive Oxford periodical, *The Loiterer,* for the whole of 1789 and the first quarter of 1790 (Austen-Leigh, 1882; Souter, 2011). They warned against Johnsonian excess and mocked the sensibility in the fiction of the time (Southam, 2001). Jane was frequently directed in her reading selections, and her developing taste was shaped by James; it was not long before Jane started subversive burlesque writings (Southam, 2001). It is likely that Jane heard heated debates about sentimental fiction due to her brothers' passionate resistance against sentimental fiction of the time (Austen-Leigh, 1882). Jane thus wrote realistic portrayals of domestic life

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[19] Pieces were dedicated to Eliza, Cassandra Austen, Jane Cooper, Mary Lloyd, Francis, Charles, James, Edward, and Henry Austen (Sabor, 2009).

[20] She self-titled these three volumes: *Volume the First*, *Volume the Second* and *Volume the Third*, and it is currently kept in Oxford's Bodleian Library and the British Library in London. Although all the writings are not individually addressed in this research project, after a thorough perusal of it, the researcher believes that it is filled with valuable primary materials for further research in Jane Austen psychobiography.

and drama due to the vigorously engaging conversations in the Austen household (Adkins & Adkins, 2013; Johnston, 2010). However, Jane was clearly distinguishing her target audience and discerning content produced for them by 1789 (Mudrick, 2018). She not only mastered and adapted her works, but she had developed the ability to use conventional and experimental techniques by this time (Mudrick, 2018). Table 7.3.1.4.1. summarises Jane's significant experiences during the Capacity substage, between December 1788 and December 1790.

Table 7.3.1.4.1

Summary of Jane Austen's significant experiences during the Capacity substage of the Growth Stage.

Substage	Year	Significant experiences
Capacity (13-14 years)	Dec 1788–Dec 1789	Jane demonstrated the ability to use conventional writing techniques, as well as an appropriate style and register variation. She adapted and parodied popular plays and stories for her family audience.
	Dec 1789–Dec 1790	Henry and James Austen edited *The Loiterer*. Jane wrote *Henry and Eliza* and *Love and Friendship* (dedicated to Eliza). By this time, the Austens have acquired a small square piano for Jane to practice on.

7.3.1.4.2 Discussion (December 1787 – December 1795)

As adolescents mature, they play various roles, which complexify as their role expectations start changing (Super, 1980). Similarly, Jane's increased writing discernment and capabilities during the capacity substage seem to be attributable to the interaction between five life roles, namely the scholar, leisurite, child, sibling, and citizen. Firstly, Jane continued her music lessons and was rewarded for her persistent practice routine (Kimber, 2020). The Austens acquired a small square piano for Jane to practice on by December 1790 to support her interest (Brooks, 2019a). Jane continued to read and started to write interesting parodies of popular plays and stories that she read to her family (Gay, 2006; Southam, 2001). Jane also mastered the art of writing in various styles and registers by the age of 14, and she frequently adapted her writing to the audience she was presenting it to (Mudrick, 2018). Therefore, Jane's leisurite

role and scholar role interacted to enhance her piano playing skills and produce some of her earliest works, such as *Henry and Eliza*, *Love and Friendship,* and *Sir Charles Grandison* (Le Faye, 1979; Garlen, 2012; Sabor, 2009). Furthermore, due to the liberal atmosphere at the Steventon rectory, Jane's brothers became involved in student politics by editing *The Loiterer* (Austen-Leigh, 1882; Boyle, 2011; Souter, 2011). Jane soon started to share opinions with her brothers on various possibly controversial topics (i.e., participation in her sibling role), such as the appropriateness of sentimentality in novels (Austen-Leigh, 1882). She also mimicked their burlesque writings and started to write subversive parodies of popular fiction (Carabine, 2013; Southam, 2001). This is important, as this demonstrates that Jane was not only building a writing capacity at this stage of her life, but she was internalising fundamental attitudes that she would hold for the rest of her career span (Mudrick, 2018). The inherently politicised nature of the opinions that Jane and her brothers espoused also seems to show that, to some point, Jane was entering the citizen role too.

According to Super (1980, 1990), an individual's role choice is important in their own role shaping. This can be seen in Jane's increased involvement in not only taking part in the Austen family's leisure activities but also becoming an active contributor to the family entertainment (Le Faye, 2004, 2011). Therefore, it is hypothesised that Jane decided to become increasingly active in the family theatricals. According to Hirshi et al. (2020) and Super (1990), the behavioural definitions of life-role expectations frequently adapt as a consequence of familial or cultural norms and values. Jane Austen's behavioural definition of what it meant to be a sibling and child, therefore, changed by the age of 13, as she progressed from a mere spectator of the family theatricals to an active contributor and storyteller (Steeves, 2020). Jane also developed strong opinions about the sentimentality in the fiction of the time and decided to write realistically about domestic themes within her experiential framework (Adkins & Adkins, 2013; Johnston, 2010).

Jane increasingly dedicated her stories, parodies, and poems to family members during this time, which demonstrates that Jane, to some extent, was seeking feedback about her writing to improve by the age of 14 (Sabor, 2009). Seeking environmental feedback on extracurricular activities is an important task in the capacity substage of development, as it allows an adolescent to compare their abilities, and interests in furtherance of an increasingly integrated self-concept (Sugiyarlin, 2020). Therefore, it is argued that Jane's capacity as writer was enhanced by the interaction between her life roles. This finding is consistent with the propositions of other studies that have proposed that career commitment is generally low in the Growth Stages but seems to increase gradually during the first stages of development (Katz, Rudolph, & Zacher, 2019). The following section explores Jane Austen in relation to the Exploration Stage of her career development, with substages delineated sequentially.

7.3.2. Exploration Stage (15 – 24 years)

During one of the most turbulent stages of development, adolescents and emerging adults often experience rapid maturational and social changes (Newman & Newman, 2020). For example, as their social environments change, adolescents are often given more responsibilities by their parents and teachers (Hartung, 2013; Super, 1975). They are expected to perform more mature social roles than before (Super & Overstreet, 1960). Typically, the Exploration Stage lasts from about 15 to 24 years, when adolescents and emerging adults are tasked with seeking personal fidelity and identity (Komiti & Moorosi, 2020). Therefore, they are faced with many tasks relating to their career development (White, 2014), such as being tasked with exploring the world of work (Komiti & Mooroti 2020; Weiten et al., 2018). If they do not explore adequately, they may flounder or drift (Super, 1975). Thus, adolescents and emerging adults are faced with three main career-related psychosocial tasks, namely *Crystallisation, Specification,* and

Actualisation (Hobololo, 2020; Super, 1975, 1990). These substages are discussed in sections 7.3.2.1., 7.3.2.2., and 7.3.2.3.

7.3.2.1. Substage 1: Crystallisation (15 – 17 years)

The first substage of the Exploration Stage involves crystallisation or forming (Hobololo, 2020; Leung, 2008); adolescents need to actively question themselves and cognitively cope with their interests, skills, and values (Cella, 1980; Leung, 2008). Therefore, while adolescents negotiate tasks of identity fidelity, their career plans are often tentative or experimental (Zunker, 2012). Furthermore, adolescents must crystallise their self-precepts by integrating their childhood beliefs, attitudes, and fantasies into their emerging conceptions of the world of work (Super, 1990; Zunker, 2012), leading to a newfound self-concept, which amalgamates their life-roles in various ways (Super, 1955, 1980, 1990). The difficulty is that adolescents often show low career commitment during this stage, yet they often increasingly commit to their careers in various ways (Katz, Rudolph, & Zacher, 2019; Super, 1975). Nevertheless, they must negotiate their identities around their emerging self-concepts (Marcia, 1980). The following section summarises the main findings from Jane Austen's lifespan before a discussion of the crystallisation substage is undertaken.

7.3.2.1.1. Juvenilia (December 1787 – December 1795)

By the age of 15, around the same time Jane was filling out faux[21] marriage banns entries into the Steventon church marriage register (Le Faye, 2004), Jane was producing interesting experimental literature of her own (Gay, 2006; Southam, 2001). For example, she dedicated

[21] Alternatively, make-believe or play marriage banns entries (Le Faye, 2004). This means that Jane was pretending to sign the official marriage book in the church.

her short writings to family members and wrote interesting pieces of fiction, such as the pastiche epistolary spoof-novel, *Love and Friendship* (1790). Jane was well-versed in letter-writing, as she and her sister often wrote to one another (Boyle, 2011; Le Faye 2011). Jane also frequently corresponded with her aunt, Mrs Hancock, until her death in 1792 (Le Faye, 1979). Jane wrote another interesting comedic piece, *The History of England* (1791), which was based on the four-volume *History of England from the Earliest Times to the Death of George II* (1771) by Goldsmith (Johnston, 2010). By this time, Jane was not only collaborating on experimental works with her sister, Cassandra, but she was utilising complex literary devices from historiographic works too (Johnston, 2010). For example, Jane cited Shakespeare as a credible source and showed a mature understanding and awareness of the conventional practices in historical writing (Johnston, 2010). It is difficult to understand the nuanced humour in Jane's writings during this time, as she frequently included humour that she shared with her close others (Southam, 2001). Dr Chard travelled to Steventon from Winchester for Jane's piano lessons (Kilby, 2019); she continued to take lessons with him until she was 21 (Jane Austen and Classical Music, 2020). Jane apparently sang too, but she only performed for her family (Sanborn, 2010). Jane also visited her brother, Frank, in Bath, and her close friends, Mary and Martha Lloyd, in Ibthorpe, regularly (Boyle, 2011; Kilby, 2019). Table 7.3.2.1.1. summarises Jane's significant experiences during the Crystallisation Substage, between December 1790 and December 1792.

Table 7.3.2.1.1

Summary of Jane Austen's significant experiences during the Crystallisation substage of the Exploration Stage

Substage	Year	Significant experiences
Crystallisation (15 – 17 years)	Dec 1790– Dec 1792	Jane filled in mock marriage banns entries. Jane experimented with writing styles and unconventional literary devices in her fiction writing. Jane wrote *Love and Friendship* (1790). Jane wrote letters to her aunt and sister. Jane wrote *The History of England* (1791), and her sister, Cassandra, illustrates the book. Jane continued piano lessons with Dr Chard until she turned 21. Jane continued entertaining the family.

7.3.2.1.2. Discussion (December 1790 – December 1792)

Crystallisation is the substage in which adolescents and early adults typically clarify what they want from their future life-roles (Suriri, 2020). This not only leads to the expression of career interest and more concretisation of the future career potentiality but also results in a congruent career (and self) identity for the adolescent (Sumari et al., 2015). Typically, this stage of development occurs between the ages of about 14 and 18 (Seligman, 1994), and support for this substage in Jane's development involved an increasingly interactive range of life-roles.

The findings of this study indicated that during the first substage of the Exploration Stage, the crystallisation substage, Jane continued taking music lessons with Dr Chard (Kilby, 2019). As an intersection between Jane's performance as a leisurite and as a student, she sang and continued to practice playing the pianoforte (Jane Austen and Classical Music, 2020; Sanborn, 2010). As a result, Jane could continue performing and entertaining the family with song and music (Sanborn, 2010). It is unknown whether Jane intended to pursue the hobby further, even though she continued meticulously copying her favourite sheet music (Kilby, 2019; Sanborn, 2010).

As a lifelong learner in the student role, Jane still had access to her father's library, and she was well acquainted with historical writings of the time (Johnston, 2010). In her role as leisurite, however, Jane continued experimenting with more writing projects, such as the pastiche short story *Love and Friendship* (1790) and *The History of England* (1791). While Jane fulfilled her role as sister and friend to Cassandra, the two girls were also demonstrating their close collaboration when they were working on *The History of England* (1791). Jane wrote this parodical text, which she based loosely on a satirical reading of Goldsmith's (1771)[22] *History of England from the Earliest Times to the Death of George II* (Johnston, 2010); Cassandra, her sister, drew medallion portraits for the book, and helped solidify this work as one of Jane's most mature works of her Juvenilia (Johnston, 2010). Clearly, this project demonstrated an extremely relevant relationship between Jane and her sister (Le Faye, 2004). It is also interesting to note that Jane's choice of work shows evidence of her increased concern with nationalistic concerns by the age of 16, which indicated that the saliency of her civilian role increased immensely during this period. This is not a strange finding, as adolescents often renegotiate their values and beliefs during their crystallisation substage (Šverko et al., 2019). Jane was using advanced literary techniques by the time she wrote this comedic take on British monarchic life and demonstrated that she was highly self-aware[23]. Therefore, the researcher believes that Jane's comedic take on politics would have been intentionally subversive – meant only for the intimate spaces of the home at this time.

It is also important to note that parental expectations and guidance are important support systems for children during their crystallisation substages (Suriri, 2020). In this regard, Jane was playing the child role when her father actively contributed to her development as a professional writer when he encouraged her to read widely and write more (Fergus & Wood,

[22] It was mentioned earlier that this would have been a popular schoolroom textbook at the time.
[23] She referred to herself as a partial, prejudiced, and ignorant historian (McMaster, 2017).

2016; Oostenbrink, 2019). Although no findings seem to explicitly suggest that Jane's mother played a role in guiding Jane during this stage, no evidence was found for the contrary either. Nevertheless, Jane was guided by her parents in continuing her writing experiments (Stafford, 2017). Furthermore, Jane seems to have had an internalised expectation of getting married, as she filled out mock marriage banns during this period. The role conflict that arose from a potential future role of spouse and the potential future of writer seems to be crystallised in this fantasy writing experiment. Although Jane could, by reasonable assumption, differentiate reality from fantasy by the age of 15 (as no evidence of the contrary was found), Jane's fictional banns entries seem to be premonitory of her future work role too, as she later continued writing about marriage and love as some of her most prominent themes (History Bombs, 2017). This event also shows evidence that Jane was considering a possible life with a life-partner, regardless of speculative interpretations that could arise from the evidence (Byrne, 2014; Le Faye, 2006, 2011). Thus, Jane was demonstrating that she had been thinking about her future seriously, which is an important psychological task that adolescents need to manage in the crystallisation substage of the Exploration Stage of development (Code et al., 2006).

This is consistent with the findings of Super (1964), who indicated that the cognitive aspect of career exploration involved crystallisation, career concern, and career choice specification. Jane also demonstrated exploratory behaviours during this stage, including experimenting with her writings by taking progressively more liberty with writing more than was expected of her, increasingly experimenting with form and style in her writings (Steeves, 2020). Jane, for example, wrote burlesques, satirical historical books, and epistolary novels during these years (Gay, 2006; Le Faye, 2004). Not only does this seem evidentiary of the initiative, but it shows that Jane was expanding her cognitive repertoire of available writing skills during this stage (Fergus & Wood, 2016). According to Jepsen and Dickson (2003), career exploration involves a wide range of seeking and experimentation behaviours. Therefore, regardless of her

motivations behind performing in various roles, Jane's active involvement in the leisurite and scholar roles is evidence of instrumental career exploratory behaviour, which is common in most adolescents (Jepsen & Dickson, 2003).

Furthermore, crystallisation involves consistency across choices, specification of choices, and confidence in choices (Jepsen & Dickson, 2003; Suriri, 2020). Jane's writing initiative at this stage of her life supports the researcher's suspicions that Jane's career crystallisation was successful. The findings from Jane's life history demonstrated that she had developed a commitment to writing entertaining stories and playing the piano by this stage, in contrast to drawing (which her sister specialised in). This sibling differentiation in leisure time occupation seemed to be an important propelling force in her career development, as she gained confidence from the feedback she gained in her environment (Fergus & Wood, 2016). There is also ample evidence from the career development literature that this stage of career development involves adolescents gaining increased awareness and understanding of themselves and the world of work, often leading to re-examinations of their previously held interests, abilities, and values (Sharf, 2016). As expected, the life history data that were utilised in this study indicate that Jane was re-examining her abilities, attitudes, interests, or values, specifically between the ages of 15 and 17 (Fergus & Wood, 2016). However, Jane was also gaining an increased understanding of herself and amalgamating her life-roles successfully by the end of the crystallisation substage (Super, 1990; White, 2014; Zunker, 2012). This crystallisation shows that Jane developed an emerging, yet stable vocational identity by the age of 17.

7.3.2.2. Substage 2: Specification (17 to 21 years)

The second subtask of the Exploration Stage involves specification (Leung, 2008; Super, 1990). Adolescents need to negotiate their vocational identities through adequate decisions

about their beliefs and occupational plans (Komiti & Moorosi, 2020). For this reason, individuals in the Growth Stage are tasked with declaring their intent about a future career (Super, 1990; Zunker, 2012). If adolescents do not experience any commitment during this stage, they may end up with a diffused or moratory vocational identity (Cella, 1980; Green, 2020). In contrast, if they experience some form of commitment, they might develop foreclosed vocational identities or even achieve their vocational identities (Green, 2020). This is important, as the adolescent's vocational identity is not only dependent on their own cognitive experimentation with their future careers but also their expectations from their significant others (Super, 1990). Thus, the main life-roles an individual in the career Exploration Stage of development typically occupy are child, scholar, leisurite, and citizen (Super, 1980).

7.3.2.2.1. Juvenilia (December 1787 – December 1795)

After completing *Love and Friendship* (1790), Jane made a conscious decision to write for profit (Warren, 2018), even though some sources claim that she had known since she was twelve (Byrne, 2014). While writing her parodies and experimental works, Jane became increasingly critical of sentimentality by the age of 17 (Southam, 2001). As was mentioned earlier, it could, in part, be attributable to her brothers' influences (Austen-Leigh, 1882). However, Jane was becoming more dedicated to realistic portrayals of domestic life by this time (Adkins & Adkins, 2013). Even though Jane was very creative with her writing during this period, she based her writings on fantastical versions of the Steventon realities around her, even basing characters on people she knew (Gay 2006; Le Faye, 1979; Southam, 2001). For example, Jane wrote *The Three Sisters* (1791) and dedicated the short story to her brother, Edward, who was getting married at the time (Le Faye, 2004). Jane wrote more than 90000 words during this time of her life (Galen, 2012; Southam, 2001).

7.3.2.2.2. Novels (1795-1800)

Jane began attending balls around Hampshire and Bath to potentially meet significant others (Adkins & Adkins, 2013; Kilby, 2019; Socratica, 2014). For example, Jane and a young law student, Thomas Lefroy, attended three balls between Christmas Day and New Year's Eve of 1795; rumour had it that they engaged in flirting (Huff, 2020; Le Faye, 2004, 2011). Jane wrote to her sister, who was engaged at the time that Tom had danced with her, and she expected an offer from him soon (Huff, 2020). However, Jane was bitterly disappointed when such an offer did not come her way because Tom already had an attachment to another woman, and he intended to leave again (Le Faye, 2002). It is unknown whether Jane imagined the attachment due to social pressures and misunderstandings or whether she confabulated one due to her sister's engagement (Ray, 2007). However, Tom's aunt and Jane's mentor, Madam Lefroy, accompanied Tom to Steventon to apologise for the misunderstanding (Le Faye, 2002, 2011). Jane soon took to writing early versions of *Sense and Sensibility* (1811) and *Pride and Prejudice* (1813), *Eleanor and Marianne* (1795), and *First Impressions* (1796). Table 7.3.2.1.2. summarises Jane's significant experiences during the Stabilisation Substage, between December 1792 and December 1796.

Table 7.3.2.1.2

Summary of Jane Austen's significant experiences during the Stabilisation Substage of the Exploration Stage

Substage	Year	Significant experiences
Stabilisation (17-21 years)	Dec 1792– Dec 1796	Jane decides that she wants to publish for monetary reward. Jane continues writing parodies, burlesques, and satires. Jane bases her characters on real events and people. She dedicates the short stories to her relatives. Jane starts attending balls. Jane meets Thomas Lefroy, and a major misunderstanding ensues. Jane starts writing *Eleanor and Marianne* (1795) and *First Impressions* (1796).

7.3.2.2.3. Discussion (December 1792 – December 1796)

From the evidence gathered, Jane Austen specified her career choice by the age of 20 (Warren, 2018). The most critical finding in this stage of Jane's career development was that she made a conscious choice to write for profit after the success of her short story, *Love and Friendship* (1791). In modern terms, this is analogous to Jane specifying a career choice, and it had an enormous effect on her integration of her life-roles. Career choices are often influenced by the social expectations of family members or friends (Super, 1990), and Jane's continued successes with writing for leisure made her realise that writing for profit could be a viable option. Additionally, even though novels were highly stigmatised and considered to be fantasy that polluted women's minds (Adkins & Adkins, 2013; Steeves, 2020), Jane's earlier attitudinal development aided her enormously (see the previous substage). Furthermore, Jane decided to write realistic portrayals of domestic life, instead of fantasy, by this stage, which helped her writings stand out from her contemporaries (Steeves, 2020). Jane also started to include subversive uses of historiographic literary techniques in her writing, in contrast to fantasy or imaginary techniques that were in common use during the Georgian Period (Johnston, 2010; Steeves, 2020).

Jepsen and Dickson (2003) found that specifying a career choice is an important subtask for adolescents and emerging adults. Jane showed career adaptability as she started to take her writing more seriously following her continued successes (Le Faye, 1997, 2004). As a result, Jane transitioned from merely writing for pleasure and entertainment to criticising sentimentality (Southam, 2001). She still incorporated her personal life into her writings and frequently dedicated her works to others in her immediate environment by this stage, which could be interpreted as life role spillage. For example, Jane dedicated the short story, *The Three Sisters* (1791), to her older brother when he married, and some researchers have argued that

she based the characters on her family members. Therefore, the salience of her child, sibling, and leisurite roles seem extremely important during this stage of her development.

As a leisurite and citizen, Jane participated in many events that were expected of women from her social class. Jane, for instance, attended balls in Hampshire and in Bath frequently since her 18th birthday (Boyle, 2011; Kilby, 2019). In the Georgian period, the middle and upper classes were expected to join society when they were ready for marriage (Adkins & Adkins, 2013). Therefore, balls and parties, which were governed by strict social etiquette, norms, and values, were primary places for young women to show their previously learned skills and to demonstrate their potential as future partners or spouses (Le Faye, 2011). However, Jane soon discovered that the arena of love, courting, and marriage was a complicated one. Austen had engaged in flirting with Thomas Lefroy, but he was unfortunately previously engaged (Huff, 2020; Le Faye, 2004). Regardless, there is not enough evidence from Jane's letters of the time to deduce anything more than that there was a misunderstanding between the two parties (see Chapter 3)[24]. Nevertheless, Jane was disappointed by the encounter, as she had reasonably expected more from the interaction than she received (Le Faye, 2011; Ray, 2007).

According to Lynes and Erkovan (2016), increased life role strain does not necessarily result from multiple role commitments. Subjective role meanings play an enormous mediating role in whether individuals can cope with role strain (Perrone et al., 2006). These findings are particularly interesting in the light of Jane's disappointment, as she continued correspondence with her sister about their intimate matters (Le Faye, 2011; Ray, 2007). It seems that while Jane was receiving support from her sister, in her sibling role, it could be possible that due to Jane's previous role modelling of Cassandra's behaviours, Jane might have felt pressure to either

[24] The reader is reminded of Madame Lefroy (Tom's aunt and Jane's mentor), who urged Thomas and his friend to apologise for their behaviour (Ray, 2007).

confabulate or perceive an emerging, yet mistaken, attachment between herself and Thomas. Regardless, Jane experienced role strain, as she became melancholy and cried about the event (Le Faye, 2011). Therefore, it could be hypothesised that Jane's role expectations as Cassandra's sibling spilled over into her other life-roles, particularly her emerging worker role. Nonetheless, Jane took to her worker role to relieve the pressure of allostasis that resulted from the misinterpretation of a potential future role as spouse. Jane started drafting *Eleanor and Marianne* (1795) and *First Impressions* (1796) over the next few months, in which the fictional, yet strangely similar, events unfolded[25].

Prior to this, Jane had already started to gradually actualise and implement her role as worker or writer, as she wrote more than 90000 words (Galen, 2012; Southam, 2001). This implementation of her previous choices to write for profit was incrementally strengthened over the next few years or her life and corroborated the findings of Katz, Rudolph, and Zacher (2019), who found that adolescents and emerging adults typically increase their career commitment as their roles as workers appear. The emerging salience as Jane as worker further prompted her next career task, namely the actualisation and implementation of her choice to become a published author.

7.3.2.3. Substage 3: Actualisation and Implementation (about 21 to 25 years)

The final psychosocial task that individuals in the Exploration Stage have to negotiate is actualisation or implementation of a career (Super, 1990). For this reason, this substage is often associated with trial or experimentation (Super, 1990; Super & Hall, 1978). During adolescence, adolescents frequently join the part-time workforce for the first time in various

[25] These works were later redrafted as *Sense and Sensibility* (1811) and *Pride and Prejudice* (1813), respectively.

informal ways, and their educational development and experimentation often continue (Chakravarty et al., 2017; Greenberger & Steinberg, 1986). Such experimentation initiates the worker and citizen roles and increases the pressure of societal expectation and performance associated with the world-of-work (Albien, 2018; Super, 1980). The process of self-implementation through trial experiences also leads to an intrinsic employability orientation, in which the individual solidifies their career identity and choice (Gedye & Beaumont, 2018). The following section summarises Jane's Exploration Stage experiences briefly, before discussing it in the section thereafter.

7.3.2.3.1. Novels (December 1795 – November 1800)

Soon after composing *Eleanor and Marianne* (1795) and *First Impressions* (1796), Jane started writing other short novels, such as *Lady Susan* (circa 1797 and 1799), which would later become *Northanger Abbey* (1817) (Garlen, 2012). Jane read these early novels as entertainment for the family, and these novels were extremely well received by them (Gay, 2006). By the end of 1797, Cassandra Austen's fiancé passed away from yellow fever, Jane's brother, Henry, married their cousin, Eliza, and Jane's father had taken Jane's novel, *First Impressions* (1796) to Cadell publishers for publishing consideration (Kelly, 2017). However, Cadell publishers did not take the manuscript seriously and refused to publish it due to unknown reasons (Claassen, 2013; Kelly, 2017).

Jane continued to read wider than was expected of women during this period and continued writing about topics she was well acquainted with (Adkins & Adkins 2013; Garlen, 2012). Jane veered away from topics she thought were too fantastical and solidified her narrative realism style with meticulous details, even though speculation about medicine, law or politics were frequent topics for authors during the gothic eras (Austen-Leigh, 1882). Jane's youngest

brothers, Charles and Francis, were in the Royal Navy at the time, and Jane ensured that, whenever she mentioned naval subplots, her details were accurate (Austen-Leigh, 1882). Jane was also introduced to Reverend Samuel Blackhall as a potential life-partner by Madame Lefroy over the Christmas season of 1797, but it did not realise due to unknown reasons (Ray, 2007). Table 7.3.2.3.1. summarises Jane's significant experiences during the Actualisation and Implementation Substage, between December 1796 and November 1800.

Table 7.3.2.3.1

Summary of Jane Austen's significant experiences during the Actualisation and Implementation substage of the Exploration Stage.

Substage	Year	Significant experiences
Actualisation & Implementation (21 – 25 years)	Dec 1796 – Nov 1800	Jane starts writing *Lady Susan* (circa 1797 and 1799). Reverend Austen takes *First Impressions* (1796) to Cadell publishers, but they reject it. Madame Lefroy introduces Reverend Samuel Blackhall to Jane as a potential suitor.

7.3.2.3.2. Discussion (December 1796 – November 1800)

After the events that prompted the role spillage of Jane's leisure and sibling roles into her emerging worker roles, she took to implement and actualise her career choices more explicitly (see the previous stage). Jane's confidence in her choice of writing as a career also gained substantial momentum, which was an important actualisation task in the Exploration Stage of career development (Jepsen & Dickson, 2003).

Although Jane never referred to herself as a novelist, she referred to herself as an author throughout her life (Johnston, 2010). Jane clearly ascribed a gendered meaning to her worker role, which is understandable given the context of Georgian society (see Chapter 3). Nevertheless, Jane continued to implement her career choice by writing *Lady Susan* (circa 1797 and 1799) shortly after drafting both *Eleanor and Marianne* in 1795 and *First Impressions* in

1796 (Garlen, 2012; White, 2006). Jane's experimental and trial tasks of the Exploration Stage continued in her worker role.

Jane continued reading her work for family entertainment at this time, and it seems that her work was received so well that her father attempted to publish *First Impressions (1976)* with Cadell Publishers (Claassen, 2013; Kelly, 2017). However, the publisher rejected the manuscript for unknown reasons (Claassen, 2013; Johnson & Tuite, 2020; Kelly, 2017); an example of collaborative-supportive role-spillage between Jane's child, leisurite, and worker roles (see Hartung, 2013). Therefore, it seems that Jane enjoyed the support of her family members in the pursuance of her goals.

Jane's hope for courting or marriage might also be ascribed to her attempt at implementing her goal of becoming a spouse, as these events coincide with the data analysis from this period. However, Jane discontinued her piano lessons with Dr Chard at around this time (Boyle, 2011; Jane Austen and Classical Music, 2020), which shows that the prominence of Jane's roles as leisurite and scholar were decreasing in some ways. This is consistent with Super's (1964, 1980, 1990) findings that commitment and emotional investment in specific life-roles fluctuate as a function of age. In her role as citizen, Jane continued to use her work to illuminate social ills and domestic perils and the parodical and satirical tone in which she addressed various issues such as women's education, wealth, love, and marriage (History Bombs, 2017; Southam, 2001). The findings from this period of her life, therefore, indicate that Jane Austen successfully negotiated the tasks of the Exploration Stage. The following section discusses Jane during the Establishment Stage, ranging from November 1800 to her death in July 1817.

7.3.3. Establishment Stage (25 – 44 years)

The Establishment Stage ranges between 25 and 44 years of age (Hobololo, 2020; Super, 1990). During this stage, individuals advance and mature while searching for increased life-stability (Nagy et al., 2017). It seems that with this emerging psychosocial need, increased career commitment is often resultant, which, in turn, leads to increased career consolidation attempts (Hess & Jepsen, 2009). If adults do not adequately manage to negotiate the two sequential subtasks typical of this maxi-cycle of career development, they flounder, drift or stagnate (Super, 1975). These subtasks are called the trial and stabilisation substages (Komiti & Moorosi, 2020; Super, 1975). These substages are discussed in sections 7.3.3.1. and 7.3.3.2.

7.3.3.1. Substage 1: Trial (25-30 years)

The first substage of the Establishment Stage typically lasts from about 25 to 30 years of age (Weiten et al., 2018). During this short trial substage, individuals are faced with their performance potential, and the first clear attempts at balancing different life-roles occur (Slocum & Cron, 1985; Super, 1975). This stage mainly involves the development of entry-level skills (Komiti & Moorosi, 2020).

7.3.3.1.1. Bath (November 1800 - December 1804)

After visiting her friend, Martha Lloyd, in November 1800, Jane returned to Steventon to shocking news (Boyle, 2011; Kilby, 2019). Jane fainted upon receiving the news of her father's retirement and about the family's subsequent move to Bath (Galen, 2012; Kilby, 2019). The resort town, Bath, had declined in status by this time, and the Austen's family circumstances decreased with the move (Boyle, 2011; Walker, 2005). However, Jane was extremely upset because her pianoforte was sold for just £8 (Brooks, 2019a, 2019b; Kilby, 2019). Therefore,

Jane could not play piano while staying in their various residences between 1801 and 1804 (Brooks, 2019; Kilby, 2019; Spanswick, 2019; Walker, 2005). Jane also received an offer for marriage from Harris Bigg-Wither, which she accepted, but rejected his proposal the following morning due to realising that she had only accepted due to financial considerations (Claassen, 2013; Garlen, 2012; Irvine, 2005; Le Faye, 2011).

Regardless, Jane completed the early manuscript for *Northanger Abbey* (1818) in 1803 (Kelly, 2017; Kilby, 2019; Garlen, 2012), and sold it to Crosby & Co. (Blair, 2000; Claassen, 2013; Kilby, 2019). The novel was not published for years to come (see Section 7.3.3.2.2. Chawton). The frustrated Jane, nevertheless, started working on her next novel, *The Watsons* but soon abandoned it (Kelly, 2017). Fortunately, the Austen family could still frequently take vacations, but Jane disliked the waning influence of Bath, nor wrote much during this time of her life (Boyle, 2011; Galen, 2012; Nokes, 1997). According to some sources, Jane fell in love with an unknown stranger who passed away on one of her holidays (Boyle, 2011). To increase her dislike of this period of her life, Madam Lefroy, her mentor, passed away on her 29th birthday (Ray, 2007). Understandably, Jane's dislike for her situation grew intensely.

7.3.3.1.2. Chawton (December 1804 - December 1805)

On 21 January 1805, Jane's father passed away, and his pension ceased (Boyle, 2011; Kelly, 2017; Galen, 2012). Subsequently, the Austen women's lifestyles changed once again, and Bath was becoming too expensive to live in, even though Jane's brothers collectively contributed financial support (Adkins & Adkins, 2013; Boyle, 2011; Galen, 2012; Kilby, 2019). Jane, her sister, and her mother moved to Clifton with Martha Lloyd, where Cassandra nursed Martha's dying mother (Boyle, 2011). With Martha's mother's passing, the women moved to Southampton in 1806 (Boyle, 2011; Kilby, 2019; Walker, 2005). In Southampton, the women

occupied Francis's house, Jane’s brother, who had become a Captain in the Royal Navy, and they kept his wife comfortably occupied (Boyle, 2011). Jane apparently preferred this arrangement, rather than living in Bath (Kilby, 2019). Table 7.3.3.1.2. summarises Jane’s significant experiences during the *Trial Substage*, between November 1800 and December 1805.

Table 7.3.3.1.2

Summary of Jane Austen’s significant experiences during the Trial Substage of the Establishment Stage

Substage	Year	Significant experiences
Trial (25-30 years)	Nov 1800 – Dec 1801	Jane incorporated new literary devices in her writing. She especially used authenticating devices from historiographic works. Jane visited her friend Martha Lloyd. She returned to Steventon and fainted after hearing about her father’s retirement plan. Jane’s piano was sold for ₤8. The Austen household moved to Bath.
	Dec 1801 – Dec 1802	Jane accepted a marriage proposal from Harris Bigg-Wither. She rejected it the following morning.
	Dec 1802 – Dec 1803	Jane completed writing *Susan*, which would later become *Northanger Abbey* (1818). Jane sold the manuscript, *Susan*, to Crosby & Co. for ₤10.
	Dec 1803 – Jan 1805	Jane started working on *The Watsons* but soon abandoned the project. She barely wrote during this stage of her life. Only some letters survived. Jane fell in love with an unknown stranger on a holiday. The suitor died. On Jane’s 29th birthday, her mentor and confidante, Madam Lefroy, passed away. Jane disliked living in Bath.
	Jan 1805 – Dec 1805	Jane’s father passed away. His pension ceased. Jane’s brothers, especially Edward, helped the women financially. Jane, her sister, and their mother moved to Clifton with Martha Lloyd, where Cassandra nursed Martha’s mother.

7.3.3.1.3. Discussion (November 1800 – December 1805)

Jane’s latent dependant and child roles resurfaced when she returned to Steventon to the news of her father’s sudden retirement from the church (Boyle, 2011; Galen, 2012; Kilby, 2019). Apparently, Jane fainted due to the stress from the uncontrollable life-role strain (Boyle, 2011; Galen, 2012; Kilby, 2019). Jane enjoyed attending parties and balls at this stage of her life, and

one could only imagine how shocking the move might have been for her, who might have been thinking about establishing herself by this time. However, the family's move to Bath (Boyle, 2011; Walker, 2005) not only reduced their circumstances but affected her other roles drastically too. Jane, who spent years learning to play the piano as a leisure activity, had to sell her piano, which upset her immensely (Brooks, 2019; Kilby, 2019). Therefore, this event is a clear example of conflicting role-strain in Jane Austen's life. According to Lyness and Erkovan (2016), individuals often derive benefit from increased role strain if they can derive meaning from the strain, contrary to popular belief. However, Jane suffered as she struggled to adapt to her new circumstances in Bath (Brooks, 2019; Kilby, 2019; Spanswick, 2019; Walker, 2005).

Regardless, Jane lived comfortably with her family after moving to Bath, and her continued presence was felt in society (Le Faye, 2011). The Austens continued entertaining themselves, and Jane continued writing initially (Le Faye, 2004). During Jane's trial substage of her career development, she became extremely skilled in her worker role. As Jane was progressing, she was incorporating contemporary literary devices in her own work almost effortlessly and became skilled at writing domestic and naval themes (Southam, 2001). Jane also included techniques from historiographic works, such as the extensive use of authenticating devices (e.g., footnotes, pseudo-editorial prefaces, and documentary evidence) (Johnston, 2010). Jane's novels were received well at the family evenings of entertainment (Adkins & Adkins, 2013). Jane continued participating in her worker role and completed the early manuscript, *Susan*, by 1803 (Kelly, 2017; Kilby, 2019; Garlen, 2012). She managed to sell it to Crosby & Co., which meant that Jane had been compensated formally for her work for the first time (Blair, 2000; Claassen, 2013; Kilby, 2019). However, the publishers did not intend to publish the novel at all (Ray, 2007). Jane, nevertheless, started working on a new novel, *The Watsons* but soon deserted the project (Kelly, 2017). Jane discontinued writing during these years for unknown reasons (Boyle, 2011; Galen, 2012; Nokes, 1997).

Jane also experienced extreme role spillage when the strain from her child and leisurite roles transferred to her worker role. Jane, as dependant, also frequently moved homes between 1801 and 1804, and the family often went on vacations (Brooks, 2019; Kilby, 2019; Spanswick, 2019; Walker, 2005). Jane continued writing letters during this period, but the letters show slight indications of her mood altering with the new environment even though she wrote fondly about the gardens (Le Faye, 2011). Jane also visited her friends, Mary and Martha, and her brothers also frequently visited, but Jane was slowly becoming unhappy (Le Faye, 2004).

When Jane received an offer for marriage from Mr Harris Bigg-Wither at a dinner party, she hastily accepted (Claassen, 2013; Garlen, 2012). However, Jane attributed a specific meaning to the role of spouse, which she realised after a night's reflection, she would not be able to achieve (Claassen, 2013; Irvine, 2005). She promptly rejected his proposal the next morning due to realising that she had only accepted due to financial considerations, and she thought that she would not be able to learn to love him (Claassen, 2013; Garlen, 2012; Irvine, 2005; Le Faye, 2011). Jane, nonetheless, considered Mr Bigg-Wither a formidable man but realised that she would rather not be married than be married for any other reason than love (Le Faye, 2011; Woolsey, 2019). Jane later also fell in love with an elusive stranger, but information around the relationship is sparse. It has been speculated that the gentleman passed away while she was visiting him on vacation (Boyle, 2011). Jane's potential spousal role never came to fruition after the event, and she remained unmarried for the rest of her life. However, the increased role conflicts that arose from these events and her potential role as spouse, were worsened when her close friend, mentor, and confidante, Madame Lefroy, passed away on Jane's 29th birthday. This grieving process was further exacerbated when her father passed away just a few days later, on 21 January 1805 (Boyle, 2011; Kelly, 2017; Galen, 2012). Therefore, her role strain as grieving child and mentee diverted her life-energy completely, which led to the discontinuation of her worker role (Garlen, 2012; Le Faye, 1997; Ray, 2007).

Jane only infrequently wrote letters or worked on her novels for years to come (Sutherland, 2005).

The death of Jane's father also meant a change in her role expectations. For example, Jane became a financial dependant of her brothers due to women not being allowed to inherit estates in the Georgian era (Adkins & Adkins, 2013; Boyle, 2011; Byrne, 2014). The reduction of income when her father's pension ceased also meant that Jane, her sister, and her mother had to leave the expensive Bath, and subsequently moved to Clifton with her friend Martha, and later to her brother, Frank's house (Boyle, 2011; Kilby, 2019). This would have been especially straining to Jane, an unmarried woman, as inheritance laws were excessively oppressive due to women not being able to own land or have separate income sources if they were unmarried (Adkins & Adkins, 2013). Fortunately, Jane, Martha, Cassandra, and their mother could move into Southampton with Frank's wife while he was away on naval voyages (Boyle, 2011). Jane's role strain gradually eased because of the support she gained from the new living arrangements and increased financial mobility (Kilby, 2019; Walker, 2005).

It is also interesting to note that Super (1980) indicated that leisure activities tend to be "the pursuits of the very young, middle-aged, and older people" (p. 289-290). Therefore, even though Jane was struggling to cope during this stage of her life due to various uncontrollable stressors, this disengagement, in particularly the leisurite role, might be a common experience for women attempting to navigate their establishment tasks (Super, 1980, 1990). The distinctive cultural and individual meaning that various life-roles have had might have changed significantly since the time of Jane Austen's career establishment (Hartung, 2013; Lyness & Erkovan, 2016; Watson & Stead, 2015). Furthermore, the hierarchical grading of Jane's life-roles might have caused her to take on an increased role strain as increased involvement in hobbies and leisure occupations has been found to mitigate the harsh effects of life events such as death (Delalibera et al., 2015). Such a meaning-centred grading might explain Jane's

inability to write or cope with her worker role during this period (Lyness & Erkovan, 2016; Watson & Stead, 2015). To simplify, Jane might have been able to adapt and maintain her emerging vocational identity if she could emotionally invest more in her leisurite role (i.e., playing the piano and singing) than in her emerging worker role (writing).

However, it is argued that during the Trial Substage of Jane Austen's Establishment Stage, she initially achieved the basic task of learning entry-level skills (i.e., writing for profit), as was expected from Super's (1990) predictions. However, unexpected role expectation changes caused excessive disruptions to Jane's roles as dependent, child, leisurite, mentee, and worker specifically. The following section discusses Jane's career development during the final years of her life, which coincides with the Stabilisation Subtask of the Establishment Stage.

7.3.3.2. Substage 2: Stabilisation (30-44 years)

The second substage involves stabilisation and typically lasts from about 31 to 44 years of age (Weiten et al., 2018). The key characteristic of the Establishment Stage occurs primarily through work experience and environmental feedback (Komiti & Moorosi, 2020). According to Super (1975, 1985), these stabilisation attempts often relate to the individual actively seeking opportunities to gain more entry-level skills after some experimentation and career-related experiences have taken place. This is also often paired with decreased mobility due to increased career investment and commitment (Slocum & Cron, 1985; Super, 1975, 1980). Emerging lifestyles also predominate during this stage of life, as individuals often get ready for long-term career commitments (Katz, Rudolph, & Zacher, 2019). Although men typically advanced to the management stage after the previous stages, Super (1975) found that many women seemed to re-enter a second exploration or Establishment Stage.

7.3.3.2.1. Chawton (December 1805 – December 1817)

In the company of four closely quartered women, Jane could continue reading widely, even though she was grieving (Garlen, 2012; Le Faye, 2014; Ray, 2007). Jane, for instance, reluctantly read Grisborne's (1805) *An inquiry into the Duties of the Female Sex*, which aimed at teaching women about "appropriate" womanhood (Brooks, 2019b). Jane agreed with many of the views of this text, and she internalised some of the values that were suggested (Brooks, 2019b). Jane's naval brothers were abolitionists[26], and even though Jane believed in not speaking about politics in public, she started thinking about including messages of anti-slavery in her novels (White, 2006). Around the same time, The Abolition of British Slave Trade took place, even though many slaves were not emancipated until years later (White, 2006). Furthermore, Jane wrote a poem on her birthday in memory of Mrs Lefroy in 1808, despite no other writings surviving from 1808 (Kelly, 2017; Le Faye, 2004; Ray, 2007).

The period between moving to Bath and living in Southampton seems remarkably dull for Jane Austen's writing career (Stafford, 2017). Besides, Jane and her sister were frequently travelling (Grover, 2013). However, Jane became excited about buying a piano again to perform for her nephews and nieces (Sanborn, 2010). This was followed by Jane, Cassandra, their mother, and Martha Lloyd moving into Edward's newly inherited cottage in Chawton, Hampshire (Boyle, 2011; Grover, 2013). Here, the new Stodart Square piano could be placed comfortably, the women of the household could return to their previous level of comfort, and they could frequently attend to their friends again (Boyle, 2011; Sanborn, 2010).

Jane could play piano again, and she was ecstatic about performing her growing collection of popular favourite sheet music (Brooks, 2019a, 2019b; Spanswick, 2013). Because Jane's writing often suffered when she could not play the piano, living in the Chawton cottage

[26] It has even been said that Charles Austen, one of her brothers, intercepted several slave ships (Hubback & Hubback, 2012).

propelled Jane's productivity (Brooks, 2019; Spanswick, 2013). Jane could resume practicing the piano, and she performed for her family again (Jane Austen and Classical Music, 2020; Libin, 1997). It was said that Jane practiced before breakfast every morning, while she could have the room to herself (Austen, 1867). The family was apparently not extremely fond of music, but Jane's young niece often listened to her practice (Spanswick, 2013). In April 1809, Jane also found newfound courage to write a letter to Crosby & Co. publishers, in which she offered to reimburse them with a revised manuscript if they lost the unpublished one (Blair, 2000; Le Faye, 2011). However, Jane was shocked to discover that the publisher had not intended to publish the novel at all (Le Faye, 2011).

This prompted Jane to start revising several manuscripts (Brooks, 2019). Jane revised the manuscript for *Sense and Sensibility* (1811) and had it published as "By a Lady" (Nokes, 1997). Due to the stigma novels carried and the potential consequences that could arise from censorship, Jane modestly sold the series of first editions; it allowed her to regain financial stability at the age of 36 (Johnson & Tuite, 2020; Nokes, 1997). This professionalised Austen's career as a writer, and she started to consider herself to be an author[27] (Fergus, 2010). Jane followed the success of these sold-out copies by revising and publishing *Pride and Prejudice* (1813). During Austen's snowbound winter of December 1813, Jane started working on *Emma* in January 1814 (Le Faye, 2004). Her family thought she was discreetly writing letters on her little mahogany drawing room desk, but Jane was determined to write an unlikeable heroine on small pieces of paper (Le Faye, 2004). Jane soon drafted and revised the manuscripts for both *Mansfield Park* (1814)[28] and *Emma* (1815).

In 1813, Jane wrote to her friend, Martha, that she hated the Prince Regent and sympathised with his wife, but in an ironic twist of fate, Jane was solicited to dedicate *Emma* (1815) to the

[27] She never referred to herself as a novelist (Johnston, 2010).
[28] Jane's mother was apparently not very fond of *Mansfield Park* (1818).

prince just three years later (Sabor, 2009). Furthermore, her publisher offered her £450 for the rights to *Emma* (1815), even though the publisher was concerned about her varying sales figures (History Bombs, 2017). Jane, however, obliged to the solicitation, but wrote a witty, sarcastic dedication, and paid for the pre-released, specially bound, and dedicated copy herself (Austen-Leigh, 1882; Sabor, 2009). Although Jane had previously published discreetly, the Prince Regent's physician attended to her brother, Henry, while he was sick, and she was attending to him (Austen-Leigh, 1882). He soon discovered that Jane was the author of *Pride and Prejudice* (1811) and obliged her to dedicate it to the Prince, whose library grew exponentially (Sabor, 2009). Despite the increasing fame, Jane made only £650 from her novels published during her lifetime – less than most of her contemporaries (Kilby, 2019; Johnson & Tuite, 2020).

Jane progressively suffered from an illness during the last years of her life (Austen-Leigh, 1882; Upfal, 2005). This forced her to end her habitual activities while working on the manuscript for *Persuasion* (1818). She had apparently become extremely depressed during this stage of her life and was unhappy with *Persuasion's* (1818) progress (Austen-Leigh, 1882). Moreover, Jane's increasing lability due to the unspecified illness increased during the last months of her life, as she woke up one morning and completely revised her condemned chapters (Austen-Leigh, 1882; Garlen, 2012). Jane was sensing her death, as she was increasingly spending time on her make-shift couch-bed and her content became gradually nostalgic (Garlen, 2012). She retained hope for recovery and even started writing a new novel (*The Brothers*); however, by 17 March 1817, Jane never wrote again (Adkins & Adkins, 2013; Austen-Leigh, 1882; Tomalin, 1999). Jane became increasingly pale and sedentary (Austen-Leigh, 1882; Kilby, 2019). Despite moving to Winchester with her mother and sister to make medical treatment more accessible, Jane could not be saved (Austen-Leigh, 1882; Kilby, 2019). Jane briefly recovered while Cassandra was attending to her (Kilby, 2019). She moved to the

sofa between 9 am and 10 pm every day but passed away at the age of 41 (Galen, 2012; Kilby, 2019). On her deathbed, she wished for "nothing but death" (p. 166), according to Edward Austen-Leigh (1882), and she died peacefully in her sleep on the Friday morning of 18 July 1817 (Adkins & Adkins, 2013; Galen, 2012; Kilby, 2019; White, 2006). Table 7.3.3.2.1. summarises Jane's significant experiences during the Stabilisation Substage, between December 1805 and December 1817.

Table 7.3.3.2.1

Summary of Jane Austen's significant experiences during the Stabilisation Substage of the Establishment Stage

Substage	Year	Significant experiences
Stabilisation (30 – 44 years)	Dec 1805 – Dec 1809	Jane, her sister, their mother, and Martha Lloyd move to Francis' house in Southampton (with Francis' wife). Jane writes a poem in memory of Madame Lefroy on her birthday. Edward Austen becomes Edward Knight and inherits the Knight estates. Jane becomes excited about moving. She is particularly excited about being able to buy a new piano. Jane, her sister, their mother, and Martha Lloyd move into Edward's Chawton Cottage. Jane acquires a Stodart Square piano. Jane gains courage and writes to Crosby and Co. Publishers. She discovers that her work, *Susan*, was not intended for publication.
	Dec 1809 – Dec 1810	Jane plays piano for her nephews and nieces. She practices the piano every morning before breakfast to not disturb anyone else. Jane revises the manuscript for *Sense and Sensibility* (1811).
	Dec 1810 – Dec 1811	Jane considered herself to be an author after publishing *Sense and Sensibility* (1811). The first run of copies was sold out. Jane makes £140 by selling the rights to the manuscript.
	Dec 1811 – Dec 1813	Jane refined and redrafted *Pride and Prejudice* (1813). Jane had *Pride and Prejudice* (1813) published.
	Dec 1813 – Dec 1814	During a snowbound winter, the Austen women stayed indoors. Jane discreetly took to drafting and revising *Mansfield Park* (1814). Jane's mother disliked it. Jane started writing *Emma* (1815). The family barely realised that she was working, as they thought that she was writing letters. Jane had *Mansfield Park* (1814) published.
	Dec 1814 – Dec 1815	Jane's publisher offered her £450 for the rights to *Emma* (1815). Jane's brother, Henry, was sick. Jane attended to him and met his physician. The physician was the Prince Regent's physician. Jane was obliged to dedicate her upcoming book to the Prince Regent by Royal solicitation. Jane published *Emma* (1815) with a sarcastic dedication. She paid for a special pre-release edition to be sent to the Prince Regent.
	Dec 1815 – Dec 1816	Jane became ill and her health declined. Jane redrafted and edited *Persuasion* (1818). She became unhappy due to illness and redrafted significant portions of the novel.
	Dec 1816 – Aug 1817	Jane wrote 11 chapters of *The Brothers* but abandoned the novel due to her illness. The novel would later be published *Sanditon* (1925). On 17 March 1817, Jane wrote and revised novels. During summer, Jane, her mother, and sister moved to Winchester to access better medical care. Jane believed that she had a bile-imbalance. Jane briefly recovered and even offered her niece writing advice. Jane passed away on the morning of 18 July 1817.

7.3.3.2.2. Discussion (December 1805 – August 1817)

During the last few years of Jane Austen's life, she experienced the Stabilisation Substage of the Establishment Stage. The results of the study indicated that Jane accomplished three important life-tasks during this period. She gained significant experience in her worker role; she managed to consolidate her career and maintained her productivity. Firstly, after an extended period of not writing (see the previous substage), Jane returned to her writing career

in progressive stages. After an enormous writing hiatus, Jane wrote a poem to commemorate the difficult anniversary of the death of her mentor on her own birthday (Kelly, 2017; Le Faye, 2004; Ray, 2007). Paired with a renewed excitement to purchase and play the piano again, Jane gained significant momentum in her writing career (Sutherland, 2005). Secondly, during this stage, Jane managed to consolidate her career. Career consolidation, according to Vaillant (2002, 2013), involves contentment, commitment, competence, and compensation. Thus, Jane managed to turn a previous hobby (writing) into a compensated career which she committed to, had gained competence in, and had been content with. Lastly, Jane managed to maintain her productivity in her worker role until she stagnated due to an unknown illness in 1815 (Upfal, 2005). Despite the illness's effect, Jane managed to revise and publish, most of her works during the Establishment Stage (Le Faye, 2004). It was also observed that the interactions between Jane's life-roles played an enormous role in her achievement in certain career tasks that were expected from the literature (see Chapter 2).

For example, Jane, her mother, her sister, and her friend (as dependents of her brother) were privileged to move into Edward's newly inherited Chawton cottage (Boyle, 2011; Grover, 2013). This meant that the women of the household could return to their previous lifestyles again (Sanborn, 2010). The life history data about Jane Austen demonstrated that Jane partook in the homemaker role at Chawton, as she helped supervise the household chores while her mother was gardening (Boyle, 2011). Therefore, even though Jane Austen never formally entered the roles of parent or spouse in her lifetime, as would be expected from Super's (1959, 1980, 1990) theoretical framework, she diverted her life-energy into other life-roles.

The purchase of the Stodart Square piano on which Jane could play for her nieces and nephews shows that Jane's increased involvement in leisure activities led to an increase in her productivity as worker too (Sanborn, 2010). This is not uncommon, as Youssef-Morgan and Craig (2019) have found that involvement in leisure activities in adulthood buffers the effects

of possible worker role strain-spillage in other life roles. It has previously been noted that Jane's writing suffered when she could not play the piano (Brooks, 2019; Spanswick, 2013). Therefore, Jane's role as dependant influenced the reestablishment of her leisurite role, which, in turn, influenced her worker role. Jane's ever-growing collection of popular, hand-copied, sheet music was instrumental to the pleasure she took from playing for her young nieces and nephews (Ferro, 2015; Libin, 1997; Sanborn, 2010).

However, the pleasure that Jane Austen experienced from being able to be an entertainer to her young nieces and nephews did not come without a cost (Kilby, 2019). Jane apparently practiced every morning before breakfast, as she did not want to disturb the other women in the room (Austen, 1867). Therefore, it can be inferred that Jane's participation in the leisurite role caused some strain in the household, as the other family members were not keen on listening to her practice (Spanswick, 2013). This also implies that Jane experienced a role strain due to environmental factors. To explicate, the Chawton cottage was not large enough to have a fashionable music room for the piano, which meant that the piano had to be situated in a common area (Sanborn, 2010). Nevertheless, Jane gained the creative courage to initiate her worker role formally again – this time, with the determination to ensure that she would be published (Le Faye, 2011).

With reinitiating her worker role, Jane wrote a letter to the publisher, Crosby & Co., in which she offered to buy her unpublished manuscript of *Susan* back from them (Blair, 2000; Le Faye, 2004, 2011). However, Jane experienced significant role strain when she finally realised that the publisher had never intended to publish the novel in the first place (Le Faye, 2011). Regardless, the support that Jane received from the other women in the household helped her to revise the manuscript of *Sense and Sensibility* (1811). It could also be hypothesised that her renewed involvement in her role as leisurite acted as a protective factor against strain caused by her worker role. It is interesting to note that factors such as gender

discrimination and familial support continue to affect the stabilisation and advancement tasks of many modern women (Koomoti & Moorosi, 2020). Therefore, the supportive environment at Chawton seemed to buffer the effects of Jane's life-strains and role-spillages.

The support that she received from her friend, mother and siblings allowed Jane Austen to publish, albeit anonymously, and helped her to gain ₤140 from the sale (Brooks, 2019; Johnson & Tuite, 2020; Nokes, 1997). With her first official publication, Jane also redefined herself as an author instead of a historian (Fergus, 2010). Jane's career propelled when these copies sold out, and soon thereafter, she maintained her newfound success by revising and publishing a second successful novel, *Pride and Prejudice* (1813) (Boyle, 2011). This was followed by writing both *Mansfield Park* (1814) and *Emma* (1815), the latter, for which her publisher offered a hefty compensation (Poplawski, 1957). The literature about Jane's life also indicated that Jane cordoned off a work-space where she could discreetly write her new novels (Le Faye, 2004). Jane Austen was clearly consolidating her career as a professional writer by this stage (Fergus, 2010), as would be expected from Super's (1980, 1990) Life-Stage, Life-Space theory.

Jane also continued to read wider than was expected of her during this period, despite women frequently being warned against reading about or expressing opinions about traditionally male-oriented affairs during the Georgian and Regency eras (Claassen, 2013). However, with two brothers in naval service, of which one was a staunch abolitionist who reportedly freed a slave ship, and against the context of the Abolition of British Slave Trade in 1807 (White, 2006), Jane Austen became increasingly active in her civil role during this last period of her life. Both Jane's scholar and civil roles interacted to create, arguably, her most subversive content. Brooks (2019b) and Claassen (2013) both noted that female education was highly debated in England. Ironically, while many men were dying in wars worldwide, the patriarchal undertones remained in England: male-oriented affairs such as politics, slavery, and war were reserved for men, and women were "saved" from having to have inputs (Brooks,

2019b; Claassen, 2013). However, Jane read books about naval and military history, including works from anti-slavery campaigners (White, 2006). Jane also started writing about anti-slavery and abolitionism, such as *Mansfield Park* (1814). Jane, as was shown before, had developed a keen sense of her audience. Therefore, it is argued that Jane would not have been oblivious to the possible effects of her opinions on her upper-class readers.

Regardless, *Mansfield Park* (1814) was noticed favourably by the Prince Regent, who had taken over from his father, just a few years after its publication. Later, Jane was acting as caretaker for her brother, Henry, when one of the Prince Regent's physicians, who was attending to Henry, discovered that Jane was the elusive author of *Pride and Prejudice* (1813) (Sabor, 2009). In a few days, Jane Austen received a solicitation from a royal librarian, James Stanier Clarke, for dedicating her book *Emma* (1815) to the Prince Regent, who had started to amass a library of his own (Le Faye, 2011). Austen, who did not like the Prince Regent, wrote a respectful, yet sarcastic dedication to the prince and had it specially bound and sent to the prince on her own account (Austen-Leigh, 1882). Clearly, Jane was mocking his grandiose life and used her worker role to subvert the Prince's request in her role as citizen.

However, during the last few years of her life, Jane Austen became sick from a much-debated illness (Austen-Leigh, 1882; Le Faye, 2004, 2011; Ray & Wheeler, 2005; Upfal, 2005). This prompted her re-entrance into the patient role, which she had previously experienced (see earlier). Even though she attributed the illness to a bile imbalance (Austen-Leigh, 1882), the malignant effects of the illness haunted her. Jane gradually disengaged from her various life roles over the next few months, despite moments of hope (Austen-Leigh, 1882). Soon, the saliency of Jane's child, dependant, sibling, and patient roles took prominence as she, her mother, and sister moved to Winchester in the summer of 1817 (Kilby, 2019). However, Jane could not be saved by the medicine of the time (Austen-Leigh, 1882). Jane Austen, nevertheless, maintained her productivity (an essential task of the Stabilisation Substage of the

Establishment Stage) for the first few months of her illness (Galen, 2012). She continued to perform in her worker role by writing *Persuasion* (1818) throughout 1816, as well as 11 chapters of *The Brothers*, later published as the unfinished novel, *Sanditon* (1925). Jane sensed her terminality and incorporated elements and themes from her reflections into her last autumnal novels (Garlen, 2012). She also rigorously edited, even rewrote entire chapters of *Persuasion* (1818) in single mornings (Austen-Leigh, 1882). Regardless, Jane Austen also used the time to increase her gratitude and share some of her writing wisdom with her young niece (C. Austen, 1871; Southam, 2001). Despite being increasingly fatigued, dependent, and labile, Jane displayed agency. Jane took the liberty of constructing a make-shift sofa-bed that she could lay on in the common rooms at Chawton for the first few months of her illness (Stafford, 2017). She continued to benefit from the support of her mother, friend, and sister during the last few days of her life when the meaning of her dependant role changed. According to Edward Austen-Leigh (1882), Jane wished for "nothing but death" (p. 166) before she passed away in her sleep on 18 July 1817.

To summarise this life stage, Jane consolidated and established her career as an author. Jane continued her roles as child, sibling, dependant, and scholar, despite slight changes in the meanings of these roles. Jane Austen also reinitiated her roles as leisurite, worker, and citizen; she entered the homemaker role too. However, only the dependant and patient roles remained in Jane's last years, as it became too difficult for her to continue after an illness started to debilitate her. The following section briefly concludes the chapter.

7.4. Conclusion

After Jane's death, she was buried in the Winchester Cathedral's north aisle, near her birth-home (Austen-Leigh, 1882; Galen, 2012; Kilby, 2019). Even though her career was not stated

on her epithet, Henry published *Northanger Abbey* (1818) and *Persuasion* (1818) and finally released her from her lifelong anonymity as author (Claassen, 2013; Galen, 2012; Johnson & Tuite, 2020; Steeves, 2020). Her unfinished and unpublished short novels, *Lady Susan* (1871), *Sanditon* (1925), and *The Watsons* (1871), were only published at the discretion of the Austen family years later (Garlen, 2012; Steeves, 2020). This chapter presented the results and findings of the study. The conceptual outline of the study was briefly summarised again before Austen's lifespan was analysed over three broad periods of her career development. After each review, the theoretical summary was succeeded by a revision of the relevant data and a discussion of Jane Austen's career development. The following chapter concludes the study by presenting the limitations and potential contributions of the study, as well as recommendations for future research.

Chapter 8

Conclusions, Limitations and Recommendations

8.1. Chapter Preview

In this final chapter, the research aim and findings are revisited, followed by an exploration of the value of the study. The limitations of the study are also discussed and recommendations for further research are suggested. The final section of the chapter includes a brief reflective commentary by the researcher.

8.2. Revisiting the Study's Aim and Objective

The researcher aimed to conduct a longitudinal psychobiographical study on the career development of Jane Austen (1775 – 1817). Therefore, the researcher's primary aim for conducting the study was to reconstruct Austen's career development by applying Donald Super's (1980, 1990) career development theory to the historical data and context. To achieve this, life-history data about Jane Austen were used to systematically reconstruct her career development, including her life-roles and career commitment at different stages of her development. Credence was also given to her historical context and her social class, as the prevailing norms and attitudes of the middle and upper classes in the Georgian and Regency Periods were also explored in relation to Jane Austen's development (see chapters 2 and 7). Further, the researcher's objective was to analytically generalise the study's findings to Super's Life-Space, Life-Span theory (see Chapter 2). This allowed the researcher to evaluate Donald Super's theory in relation to a different context and time-period it was developed for. The following section briefly summarises the main findings of the study.

8.3. Summary of Significant Research Findings

In Chapter 7, the researcher found that Jane Austen's career development was guided by her emerging and interacting life-roles at different life-stages. The interactions between her life roles also prompted her increased career commitment across three broad stages of her life, namely the growth stage, the exploration stage, and the establishment stage. Each stage included several substages, accompanied by progressive life-role commitments and strains. Jane Austen seems to have progressed through these substages in expected ways, given her historical context. However, the study also revealed that Jane's involvement in her leisurite role significantly impacted and shaped her life in unexpected ways. The saliency of Ms Austen's life roles and career commitment also fluctuated, as expected, as functions of her chronological age. Therefore, support has been found for both Super's (1976, 1980, 1990) developmental perspective, as well as Katz, Rudolph, and Zacher's (2019) career commitment hypothesis.

To simplify, Jane Austen played the roles of dependant, child, and sibling during the first stage of her career development. She then entered and exited the leisurite, scholar, worker, and citizen roles at various points in her life. However, Jane Austen never entered the roles of parent or spouse and subsequently had more life-energy to divert to other life-roles. Due to a progressively debilitating illness, Jane Austen passed away before progressing to the management and the decline stages of her life. This meant a premature and abrupt stop to her career development. This study, therefore, demonstrated that Jane Austen's career development seemed to unfold organically, as a function of her own inputs as well as her environment. Her life role expectations and performances also guided the unfolding of her career as author. In summary, the study demonstrated that Jane Austen's career development progressed in a similar fashion to the developmental postulations Super (1980, 1990, 1996) had made. The following section briefly explores the value and contributions of the study.

8.4. Value and Contribution of the Study

Psychobiographers have expanded their domains of inquiry and have contributed enormously to the understanding of the lives of historically significant persons over the past century (Kőváry, 2018; Ponterotto, 2019a). Psychobiography, as an academic field, has particularly grown as a valid methodology to understand the development of individuals across their lifespans and has substantially specialised over the last few years (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Ponterotto, 2019a, 2019b). A recent specialised form of psychobiography, namely careerography, has been defined by Park-Taylor, Reynolds, Jackson, and Ponterotto (2019) as the specialised application and intensive examination of career development theories to the work experiences and lives of historically significant persons. As Jane was deemed historically significant by the researcher, and the study utilised a psychological theory of career development explicitly, it contributed to the expanding literature in careerography.

Furthermore, psychobiographical studies refine psychological theories, and careerography contributes to the refinement of career development theories (Ponterotto, 2019a). This study provided the opportunity to understand and reconstruct Jane Austen's extraordinary life, with a specific focus on her career development, through the lens of a psychological approach. The findings of the study indicated that Super's (1990, 1996) theory of Life-Space, Life-Stage career development, particularly his Life Rainbow, was an apt theoretical framework to make sense of Jane Austen's lifelong career development (Chapter 7).

As case studies should enable researchers to confirm or challenge a psychological theory (McLeod, 1994), this psychobiography contributed a single case supporting the maturational unfolding of Jane Austen's career. Van Os (2007), as well as Du Plessis and Stones (2019), found that a psychological theory used in psychobiographical research should have explanatory

power, as well as plausibility. Jane Austen's biographical findings were framed within this theoretical lens, which proved to have both explanatory power and plausibility, specifically regarding Jane Austen's career stages and her life-roles. In addition, various authors have criticised the potential applicability of traditional models of career development to the conceptualisation of pre-industrialised or pre-20th century careers (Harris, 2020; Nagy et al., 2019; Savickas, 2009; Vondracek & Reitzle, 1998). Despite such criticisms being lodged against various traditional models of career development, this study provided a single case that demonstrated that Super's (1980, 1990) theoretical, age-normed career stages and life-stages were valuable in describing and reconstructing the single case of Jane Austen's career development. Therefore, despite criticisms against the possible century-boundness of Super's developmental theory (see Chapter 2), Super's theory seemed to be apt to describe the career development of a female who lived in England during the Georgian and Regency Periods. Furthermore, previous no previous, explicit, psychobiographical studies on Jane Austen's lifespan seem to have been undertaken prior to this study, despite many other studies about her life. For this reason, the researcher addressed a significant gap in the literature by contributing a psychobiography on the career development of Jane Austen.

This study also contributed to the growing pool of unique or enigmatic female psychobiographical subjects internationally (Ponterotto, 2019b). Jane Austen was deemed important for her present-day status as the first modern novelist (Steeves, 2020). In this regard, the study contributed by heeding to the calls for more representation of female psychobiographical subjects in the psychobiographical literature at postgraduate programmes in South Africa, specifically (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Rust, 2019). Given that some of the most important developments in Western psychology have originated from psychobiographical works (Park-Taylor, Reynolds, Jackson, & Ponterotto, 2019), this study on the career development of Jane Austen contributed to an important neglected aspect of many

of the samples of such psychobiographical works. In conclusion, the study's major value lies in the expansion of psychobiography, specifically careerography, as well as interpretive biographical literature on the life of Jane Austen. Nevertheless, limitations are inherent to any research design (Queirós et al., 2017). Therefore, the limitations of this study are discussed in the following section.

8.5. Limitations

Psychobiographers are often criticised for researcher bias, reductionism, cross-cultural differences, elitism, and inflated expectations (Basson, 2020). However, these criticisms have been discussed thoroughly in Chapter 5. In this section, the limitations of the particular study regarding the choice of psychobiographical subject (8.5.1.), the theoretical anchor (8.5.2.), as well as psychobiographical single-case study designs in general (8.5.3.), are explored.

8.5.1. The Choice of Psychobiographical Subject

In Chapter 5, several limitations relating to the choice of a psychobiographical subject, for example, subjectivity, researcher bias, and expectation inflations, were discussed. However, specific limitations regarding Jane Austen as a subject were considered in this study due to Ponterotto's (2015) considerations. Firstly, the researcher aimed to provide a neutral account of Jane Austen's career development by using an empirically supported theory of career development. Although Super's theoretical stages were applied strictly to enhance the trustworthiness of the study, it is acknowledged that the analysis of Jane's career development might have unfolded differently if the age-normed criteria were adapted. Secondly, the researcher considered several of Ponterotto's (2014, 2015) ethical guidelines when Jane Austen was purposively selected. To elaborate, the researcher explicitly chose Jane Austen due to her

influence, elusiveness, and enigmatic depictions, and the temporal distance between the present day, and her death was significant. Although this distance minimised the potential harm to surviving others, it should be noted that only a scarce amount of new, reliable biographical data could be found. The temporal distance combined with an enormous public interest in Jane Austen's life also meant that the researcher had to sift through a profuse amount of irrelevant and possibly biased or untrue data to arrive at the research findings. Therefore, although the biographical data about Jane Austen made for an extraordinary case study, the credibility and confirmability of several sources might be viewed with some scepticism. For example, Jane Austen's researchers are notorious for depicting her in one of two ways (Tanner, 2007): either Jane is depicted as a woman who lived an extraordinarily uneventful, yet influential life, or as a subversive feminist rebel that was ideologically ahead of her time (Cappiello, 2019). The researcher, therefore, also acknowledged and continuously reflected on his potential personal biases while conducting the study to engage in helpful countertransference practices, as several authors have noted (Anderson, 1981; Coetsee, 2017; Du Plessis, 2018; Köváry, 2018; Ponterotto & Moncayo, 2018). According to Burnell et al. (2019), researchers could also be biased in the initial selection of their subjects. However, the relative ambiguity and lack of prior intimate knowledge about Jane Austen's life-span enhanced the objectivity and rigour of the study.

As Bearman (2019) noted, reliable information about Jane Austen's life-span remains significantly sparse. Although many of the letters Jane Austen once wrote have been collected, it is well-known that her sister, Cassandra, burned the rest of the letters (Le Faye, 2011). The Austen family has also been accused of trying to leave an idealised image of Jane for the public (Bearman, 2019). Therefore, it has been argued in the past that Jane Austen biographies often just promote and sustain this idealised version of a woman whose life, according to some biographers, has been relatively bland and uneventful (Ryan, 1989; Tanner, 2007). However,

entire movie franchises have been spawned based on the author's life alone, yet many facts about her personal life remain elusive (Parrill, 2010). Contrarily, the researcher noted a significant abundance of useful (although not always complete) data that could be used to further psychobiographical investigations into Jane Austen's life-span. New research avenues are suggested in Section 8.6.

According to Park-Taylor, Reynolds, Jackson, and Ponterotto (2019), psychobiographical subjects have historically been predominantly white, male, and elite. In this regard, the study is limited in its choice of psychobiographical subject on the first account. However, an extensive discussion in Chapter 5 elaborated on and applied precaution to the elitist criticisms that could be lodged against Jane Austen. The reader is reminded that Jane Austen was purposively chosen for this psychobiography based on her characteristics and achievements as the first modern novelist, not due to her apparent privileged position. Her historical-cultural setting dominantly oppressed women in terms of their education, marriage rights, and property ownership rights (Abdulhaq, 2016). Some researchers have also viewed Jane Austen as a bourgeoise author (Downie, 2006), which would give some credence to the often-cited limitation that psychobiographers choose elite subjects (Human, 2015; Runyan, 1988a). Although she sold some novels during her lifetime, her fame and profit remained sparse during her lifetime (Downie, 2006). Therefore, elitist criticisms based on psychobiographers only studying wealthy, privileged or famous men do not seem justified (Du Plessis, 2016; Johnson, 2019; Panelatti, 2018; Ponterotto, 2019b). Future researchers are, however, encouraged to expand the psychobiographical enquiry on Jane Austen's life by utilising other theories that might highlight Jane Austen's societal marginality in her context further.

Finally, the researcher acknowledges that this study's findings contribute to the emerging understanding of Jane Austen's career development, but it is not an all-encompassing explanation of her career development. The researcher was reminded that the findings of this

study supplement, rather than replace any previously existing or future alternative explanations of her career development. Runyan (2019) emphasised that alternative accounts of the psychological development of individual psychobiographical subjects are useful because they challenge other explanations or provide testable speculations that could aid in future psychobiographical understanding. Therefore, the researcher urges future psychobiographers to consider the task of disputing or supplementing this study's account of Jane Austen's life-span career development. The following section explores the limitations of this study in relation to the theoretical anchor.

8.5.2. The Theoretical Anchor

This psychobiography was limited and bound by the theoretical framework utilised since no theory can be expected to fully account for a subject's life (Ponterotto, 2019a, 2019b). However, Super's (1980, 1990) developmental theory was selected due to the theoretical focus on clearly defined developmental stages, given the elusive nature of Jane Austen's career development. Jane Austen notably never married or had children of her own, and her personal time was mostly divided between leisure and writing. However, the concepts of mini-cycles, career stage recycling, career determinants, and career adaptability were not utilised in this study (Savickas, 2005; Stead & Watson, 2017; Sullivan & Ariss, 2019). Although Super's Life Rainbow clearly contributed to the researcher's understanding of Jane Austen's career development, there is still a gap that could be addressed in future studies concerning these important career-related aspects.

Furthermore, the researcher was aware of potential research bias relating to the choice of a theoretical framework for the study. According to Mayer (2019), such theory choice bias is inherent to any psychobiographical research design, even though researchers should be aware

of the influence of theoretical choices on their subjects' lives. Therefore, utilising Super's (1990, 1992, 1996) approach to understanding Jane Austen's career development was limited by the theoretical focus. For example, major critiques against the theory's applicability to historical contexts other than the 20th century have been lodged repeatedly (Leung, 2008; Savickas, 1997, 2009). In this regard, the researcher found that the theory was suitable for use on Jane Austen, despite this criticism. However, the insistence on a normative interpretation of career development across the life-span limited the researcher from exploring possible unique features of Jane Austen's career development that might have been revealed if more nuanced theories were considered. For example, gender-role socialisation, motivation, and the structure of opportunity have all been mentioned as important influences on the development of women's careers (Astin, 1984). Furthermore, Super's (1957) context emphasised the traditional life-span structure of Western careers. However, many careers were seen as illegitimate due to the oppression of the traditionally feminine (Bishop, 2020).

Super's theory has also been criticised by postmodernist researchers for adhering too closely to deterministic, linear, and universalised explanations of career development across the life-span (Richardson, 2000; Savickas, 2002, 2009, 2012; Stead & Watson, 2017). Therefore, the study's focus was limited by predefined career stages and life-stages, at the expense of potentially exploring Jane Austen's own deconstructive and subjective work or career meanings. By utilising Super's Life-Span, Life-Space theory, despite its integrative view on life-roles to amalgamate the self, an aspect of Jane Austen's holism was also neglected. More specifically, Super's theory does not explicitly address life-tasks such as spirituality or self-determination outside the realm of life-roles. Nevertheless, recommendations for other theoretical inputs that might be valuable in future research endeavours about Jane Austen are made in Section 8.6. given the limitations listed above.

8.5.3. Single-Case Study Designs in Psychobiography

Case study designs have been criticised for the lack of transferability or generalisation potential (Queirós et al., 2020; Yin, 2018). In single case studies, where only one subject or case is analysed for analytical generalisation, this is a substantial limitation (see chapters 5 and 6). However, readers are reminded that positivistic aims, such as generalisability, were not pursued in this research endeavour. Instead, analytical generalisation was sought. In other words, the researcher attempted to analytically generalise Jane Austen's life-history to Donald Super's (1957, 1990) theory of career development instead of a population. Although significant steps were taken to enhance the trustworthiness of this study (see chapters 5 and 6), it is acknowledged that the study's credibility and confirmability could have been enhanced significantly if either researcher or theoretical triangulation was sought in addition to the strategies utilised (Yin, 2018). Ponterotto (2019b) found that making use of more than one theoretical anchor has become a contemporary trend in international psychobiography. Nevertheless, the researcher adhered to the strategies to increase the trustworthiness and rigour that were discussed in chapters 5 and 6.

Another prominent limitation in single case psychobiography is that comparisons and contrasts between subjects cannot be made (Elovitz, 2020). Even though longitudinal case study research is necessarily in-depth and complex, multiple case psychobiographies may be more suited to such investigations (Köváry, 2019). Therefore, the researcher repeats the suggestions of Isaacson (2005) that multiple case psychobiography expands on psychobiographers' understandings of their subjects. Furthermore, the choice of utilising a single case study design in this study restricted the researcher from making any definitive causal attributions regarding Jane Austen's career development, as single case studies cannot epistemologically claim to seek cause and effect relationships (Queirós et al., 2020). However,

this study's objective was to analytically generalise Jane Austen's lifespan to Super's (1980, 1990) theory and provide a coherent, tentative description of her lifelong career development.

Finally, the study's findings are contextualised and tentative. For this reason, it should be acknowledged that the study should be seen as a possible account of Jane Austen's career development rather than a confirmed interpretation of her life-span. This study, therefore, could give rise to future research in Jane Austen's career but should not be seen as a complete interpretation of her entire career. This study could serve as a launching pad for future research that could further enlighten and illuminate Jane Austen's career development. Recommendations for future research are discussed next.

8.6. Recommendations for Future Research

Several researchers have emphasised the value of longitudinal research designs such as psychobiography (Elms, 2007; Fouché, 2015; Park-Taylor, Reynolds, Jackson, & Ponterotto, 2019; Simonton, 2003; Schultz & Lawrence, 2017). Despite being solely situated in the realm of psychoanalytic psychology in its conceptual years (Mayer & Kőváry, 2019), psychobiography has made significant strides in understanding the lives of remarkable persons in holistic ways (Basson, 2020). This seems to be, in part, due to several methodological and ethical developments on behalf of committed psychobiographers around the world (see Chapter 4), as well as a significant amount of methodological diversification in the field (Mayer & Fouché, In Press).

Qualitative psychobiographers have also significantly contributed to the development of psychological theory in the past century, despite the hegemony of nomothetic science (Anderson & Dunlop, 2019). Kőváry (2019) asserted that qualitative psychobiography fits the primary function of the humanities: the understanding and the discovery of the I and Thou.

Furthermore, hegemonic psychologies have dominated the building of psychological theories for centuries (Kőváry, 2018; Ponterotto, 2014). Thus, qualitative researchers have become more insistent on utilising anti-reductionistic, and subjective methodologies (Mayer, 2017). Following suit has often allowed for ontological transformation in how researchers approached and believed they understood significant lives (Kőváry, 2011, 2018, 2019). However, emerging trends in psychobiographical research suggest that utilising both quantitative and qualitative methodologies in psychobiographical research allows researchers to counteract the criticisms of both camps of research approaches (Schultz & Lawrence, 2017). Mullen (2019) suggested that by using both qualitative and quantitative data in psychobiographical research, new understandings of the subjects under study could emerge: both relatively subjective and holistic, yet still more objective and comprehensive than by mere speculation. Not only do such approaches potentially undermine the dominance of mainstream psychological theorisation about personhood, but it also contributes immensely to the expansion of the understanding of human development (Schultz & Lawrence, 2017). However, Ponterotto (2015) has cautioned psychobiographers that even if quantitative research methods are used to supplement the endeavours, psychobiographers should remember that psychobiography is primarily achieved by using qualitative and historiographic approaches. Therefore, more authentic, truthful, and neutral understandings of subjects could arise from combining qualitative and quantitative data about psychobiographical subjects' lives, but psychobiographers should not forget that their primary data should be biographical data (Mullen, 2019).

Obtaining quantitative data about Jane Austen's life-history could, therefore, potentially transform the current research findings. For example, Jane Austen's life-history data seems to be an exemplary case study for the analytical generalisation of stress management and coping theories. Eustress and distress experiences are expected in any subject's life (Holmes & Rahe, 1967); however, the effects of accumulated stress on Jane Austen have not been examined yet.

Jane seemed to experience increased role strains due to frequent moving and grief, and frequent mentions were made of excessive alcoholic consumption in her letters (Le Faye, 2011)[29]. Her coping responses seem to be an extremely fruitful avenue for further exploration, particularly during her adulthood years. More concretely, theories such as Holmes and Rahe's (1967) Social Readjustment Rating Scale seem particularly apt for further exploration as it would also combine Mullen's (2019) suggestions of exploring quantitative psychobiographies as viable methodological supplementation. In addition, it seems viable that the SRRS (1969) could be utilised to retrospectively understand Jane's impending illness or role-disengagements across her life-span. The study provided preliminary data that suggested that Jane frequently experienced life-role strains and -spillages due to expected and unexpected changes in her environment (see Chapter 7). Therefore, if the study were to be supplemented by quantitative longitudinal designs, such as the repeated measurement of specific coping or stress variables across different life-stages, researchers could gain an interesting supplement to the current research findings.

Nevertheless, the literature on Jane Austen's lifespan also reminded the researcher of other promising theories for possible future psychobiographical explorations and reconstructions. There have been increased calls for new theoretical approaches to be utilised in psychobiographical work (Schultz, 2005d). One emerging trend is to utilise psychological approaches relating to more dialectical or eugraphic lenses to analysis psychobiographical subjects' lives (Mayer & May, 2019). Victor Frankl's theory (1962, 1978, 2014, 2020), for example, seems to be suitable for the continuation of the study based on Jane Austen's choices, attitudinal, experiential, and creative values, especially as they related to her conception of her career as author. Due to the copious amount of documentation relating to the Austens'

[29] Although this observation is not systematically confirmed, it is in the researcher's opinion that the allusions to alcoholic consumption could make for an insightful exploratory study.

experiences of birthdays and Christmases, it could also be worthwhile to explore Jane Austen's lifespan through the lenses of psychological theories of rituals too, such as Hobson et al.'s (2017) process-based framework of rituals or Imber-Black's (2016, 2019, 2020) framework for understanding the value of family rituals. While the Austen family rituals and personal lives are exceptionally well documented, the Austen family could also make for an elucidating case for understanding normal family processes such as family life-cycles, according to McGoldrick and Shibusawa's (2016) framework. It is further assumed that researchers who follow these suggestions will emphasise the dialectical or eugenic approach to analysing and understanding the Austen family dynamics in unique ways, supposedly leading to even more nuanced and authentic portraits of Jane Austen herself. This could also lead to the exploration of alternative accounts of Jane Austen's career development.

Mayer and May (2019) called for more psychobiographical studies to be conducted through nuanced, balanced, and dialectical theoretical approaches, such as theories from the Positive Psychology 2.0 movement. Therefore, additional studies could be undertaken to explore Jane Austen's optimal functioning across her lifespan too. For example, Jane Austen's salutogenic or fortogenic experiences could be explored through the theoretical approaches suggested by Strümpfer (2013). Alternatively, the researcher suggests that conducting a study on Jane Austen's experiences of hedonic and eudaimonic happiness could shed some light into, particularly, her experiences of wellbeing across her life-span (Potgieter & Botha, 2014). In addition, examining the meaning of Jane's experiences of wellbeing, particularly due to the abundant availability of rich information relating to Austen's roles across the lifespan, could provide for interesting alternative accounts of how she constructed her emotional and social wellbeing (Olivier & Potgieter, 2015). Furthermore, utilising theories such as the neo-Adlerian holistic wellness model (Myers & Sweeney, 2008; Myers, Sweeney, & Witmer, 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) could shed light on a more holistic Jane Austen,

which would include her spirituality, work, leisure, self-direction, friendships and love into the analysis. It is argued that by employing Mayer et al.'s (2020) approach to wellness, or Walsh's (2015) approach to spiritual development, a more holistic view of Jane Austen could arise. This could provide a more holistic view of Jane Austen, and alternative, eugraphic understandings of her life-span could also arise.

Due to the difficulties associated with reproducing or replicating idiographic studies precisely (as a result of the interplay between the theory, researchers, and their subjects), alternative understandings of psychobiographical subjects are bound to occur if other researchers conduct psychobiographies on the same individuals (Rolfe, 2006; Runyan, 1988a, 2019). However, such accounts are often valuable in understanding aspects of subjects' lives that were previously unexplained or inadequately understood (Runyan, 1998a). Some alternative accounts are trusted more than others due to its simplicity and methodological rigour, whereas others do not survive scrutiny (Schultz & Lawrence, 2017). The researcher thus urges future researchers to add to the current understanding of Jane Austen's life by using different aspects of Super's (1957, 1980, 1990) and Savickas' (2000, 2012) theoretical lenses, other psychological theories, as well as other psychobiographical designs.

While this study focused on Jane's career development by using Super's career stage theory, future studies could explicate any remaining uncertainties by either focusing on Jane Austen's career determinants or the meaning of her career across time. This would also help reach Stead and Watson's (2017) deconstructive goals in career-related literature by emphasising Jane's subjective experience of her career development. Although this study's focus was not on Jane Austen's novels themselves, future research endeavours could also specifically focus on interpolating her writing into the analysis. In line with recent trends in psychobiography, this could be done reasonably objectively too (Kasser, 2013; McAdams, 2010). Regarding the analysis of Jane Austen's surviving letters, short stories, and novels, sentiment analysis or

cross-sectional longitudinal designs could help shed light on Jane's mood state at various points of her development. It was noticed that despite systematic evidence of mood disorders, various authors pathographise Jane Austen in search of answers for her development (Cope, 1964; Gorman, 1993; Upfal, 2005; Wiltshire, 2007). Therefore, by determining her sentiment or mood state during various periods of her life systematically, future researchers could track and describe her development more accurately.

From this study's findings, there seems to be enough support for further inferential studies to be undertaken on Jane Austen through the lenses of other psychological theories, despite the seeming lack of reliable information that was mentioned earlier in the chapter. Although authors such as Le Faye (2004, 2008, 2012) believed that studies revolving around Jane Austen's inner life should be limited to only description and thus remain completely neutral, the researcher opines that Jane Austen remains an exemplary case for psychobiographical investigations due to the abundance of public domain life-history data about her lifespan. Nevertheless, the increasing transdisciplinary endeavours in psychobiographical research is ardently encouraged by the researcher. Psychobiographical studies of Jane Austen are also encouraged by the researcher due to the limited ethical difficulties that arose from this study (see chapters 5 and 6).

Finally, a major extension to the study design could be to compare Jane Austen's career development to other female authors, such as Charlotte Brontë or Mary Wollenstone Craft, from similar eras and contexts. This links with Elms (2007), Köváry (2019), and Ponterotto's (2015) suggestions, who stated that multiple case psychobiographies are useful designs for comparing or contrasting the development of historically significant or eminent lives. Alternatively, Jane Austen's career development could be compared or contrasted to the development of modern female novelists, such as Miriam Tlali, the first published female, Black, South African novelist. Therefore, utilising a multiple case psychobiographical study

could be valuable to researchers to whom finding points of convergence or divergence between the cases are important. In contrast with rich descriptions provided by single case psychobiographies, multiple case psychobiographies enable data analysis across cases (Green, 2006; Kőváry, 2011). Therefore, a multiple psychobiographical case study could also shed some light on some of the career determinants that influenced Jane Austen's career development and the construction of herself, as well as provide additional context for her individual life-history. Comparisons to other male novelists of the time could, similarly, point to various points of convergence and divergence that could be valuable for understanding the gendered subtleties and nuances in her lifespan. The following section provides the researcher's final reflection on conducting the study.

8.7. Final Reflection

In this study, the researcher was faced with analysing and developing empathy for Jane Austen, whose personality, culture, and historical settings were vastly different from his own. However, during the investigation, an increased recognition of the similarities between the researcher and Jane Austen emerged, particularly regarding his interests in history, writing, and playing the piano. It is interesting to note that the researcher quickly noticed during this enormous undertaking that there were more similarities between Jane Austen's career and 21st-century careers. Despite the enormous progress made over the last few centuries regarding, for example, women's rights, access, and privileges in the labour force, many of the same issues that affected the progression of women's careers are still in place. Furthermore, the workplace has become more inclusive of working at home arrangements due to the fourth industrial revolution and the coronavirus pandemic, which means that many of the role-spillage and life-strains Jane Austen experienced might repeat itself in other forms today.

More personally, the researcher believes that all human beings should be afforded the opportunities to legitimise their careers. To the researcher, as a future counselling psychologist, it was important to undertake the psychobiography on a person with a fascinating literary career, although it was not always easy to acknowledge the cultural, societal, and historical differences between Jane and himself. It was stated in Chapter 1 that the researcher had first come across Austen during his high school years. Originally, the researcher had been intrigued by Jane's subversive use of sarcasm and realist literature to empower women. Although this fascinated the researcher, he had only been exposed to Jane Austen's works, not her lifespan. The researcher, however, became intrigued when he discovered that some of his favourite films were based on Jane Austen's novels. The researcher, nevertheless, felt relatively ambivalent about Jane Austen before undertaking the study.

At the commencement of the study, the researcher started to immerse himself in Austen's writing, particularly her novels, poems, and short stories. The researcher systematically collected and sorted biographical information about Austen over a period of three years, and also made attempts to verify the accuracy of the biographical data with some international experts in Jane Austen's lifespan. However, due to the effects of the 2020 Covid-19 pandemic on the Austen museums and experts, several previously viable data verification strategies could not be utilised. It is, nevertheless, acknowledged that a more empirical study, albeit non-invasive, could be undertaken on Austen's life, as several family records, letters, and biographies were used as the primary structure for Austen's biographical exploration (e.g., C. Austen, 1867; Austen-Leigh, 1871, 1882, 1926, 2002, 2013; Le Faye, 1989, 1997, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2011, 2014). However, care was taken to ensure that this study's findings did not speculate beyond what the data suggested. Jane Austen remains one of the most famous authors in the history of English and Western literature. Whether this is attributable to the public's changing perception over the last century or to the universality of the characters she wrote is

debatable. However, the researcher believes that Jane Austen made for an extraordinary case in career development, as her career was not seen as legitimate during her lifetime.

Regarding possible analytical bias in this study, the researcher realised that he often idealised Jane Austen. The researcher even felt disappointed at times due to his idealised image of Jane Austen. Furthermore, the researcher had hoped that Jane Austen was a staunch individualist with a determined career outlook and a rebellious streak, but Jane proved to have a difficult life, and her personal life often influenced her professional life in negative ways. Nevertheless, the researcher distanced himself with self-reflection time by taking extended breaks between his work and revisions on Jane Austen. This helped the researcher develop an "empathic relationship" with Jane Austen (Anderson, 1981, p. 474) and increased his understanding of himself in the process. The researcher was also saddened by Jane's premature death due to a strange illness; the researcher firmly believes that Jane would have produced an enormous amount of mature novels if she had continued her developmental trajectory into the management stage of her writing career.

Regardless, the researcher benefited and learned from Jane Austen and Super's (1990, 1994) career theory; the study enriched both his personal and professional life. Firstly, this study taught the researcher that role-strain is inevitable, regardless of the context one lives in. For the researcher, however, who would theoretically be situated in the actualisation and implementation substage of his own career development at the time of conducting the study, the collaborative-supportive role spillage that Jane Austen experienced particularly resonated with his own experiences. On the contrary, the researcher reflected immensely about his wishes for Jane to have married during her lifetime, and the researcher discovered and confronted a previously unknown assumption. The researcher realised that the mere questioning of why Jane Austen did not marry or have children while she was alive counted as a microaggression that supported the historical and systemic oppression of women. In other words, the researcher

realised that questioning Jane's marital or parental status conveyed a covert role-prejudice and stereotype that, according to Sue (2010), communicated the dominant message that "women should be married during their child-bearing ages because that is their primary purpose" (p. 34). The researcher was humbled by the experience, as it increased his reflective awareness of his own attitudes, norms, and internalised values. The researcher, however, acknowledges that this attitude originated from the same internalised patriarchal attitudes that restricted Jane, as well as many other women, from enjoying a legitimised career that she could take credit for while she had been living. In addition, the researcher's belief in personal freedom and self-determination guided him in his realisation that he did not want to hold such a worldview. Therefore, the study led the researcher to commit to becoming more aware of any possible microaggressions and internalised attitudes in general (see Torino et al., 2018).

The researcher also reflected on his relationship with illness, grief, and death, which impacts him enormously in his work as a future counselling psychologist. Prior to the study, the researcher passionately believed that death is inevitable and that the human will to meaning is driven by mortality saliency. However, the researcher initially ascribed Austen's bereavement to an incapacity to cope with the normal sufferings of life. Later, the researcher realised that Jane might have precisely been motivated by her constant grief and impending death that she experienced. Thus, Jane might have never left her rich and highly influential novels behind if she did not experience the strain and final difficulties in her life. The researcher, therefore, reiterates Frankl's (1946, 2020) belief that the mere thought of death can liberate people. Jane Austen would probably have agreed when she said that she could wish for nothing but death on her deathbed because she knew that she had left a tremendous legacy. In conclusion, by focusing on Jane Austen's career development, the researcher enriched his personal and professional life and gained new ideas, knowledge, and attitudes towards his own personal goals, career, and limitations.

8.8. Chapter Summary

In this final chapter, the psychobiographical exploration and reconstruction of Jane Austen's career development was concluded. The study's main findings were summarised, and the value and contributions of the study were explored. This was followed by a critical summary of the limitations of the study. Recommendations for future studies in psychobiography and Jane Austen studies were also made. The researcher finalised the psychobiographical study by providing a short reflection on the interaction between Jane Austen's career development and his own.

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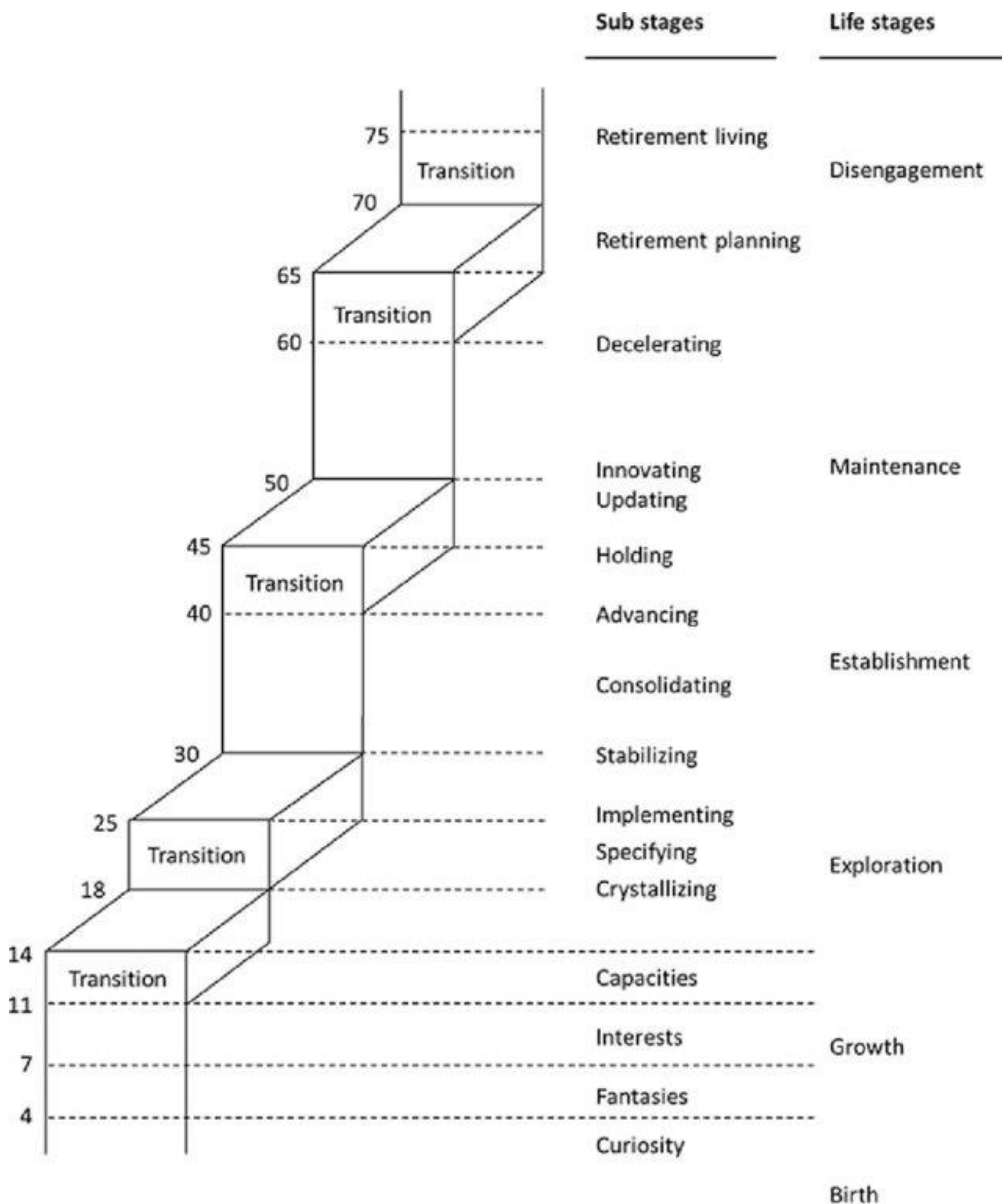
Appendices

Appendix A: Career ladder for a visual guide to the career development process

Figure 1

The career ladder model of developmental tasks at various life-stages



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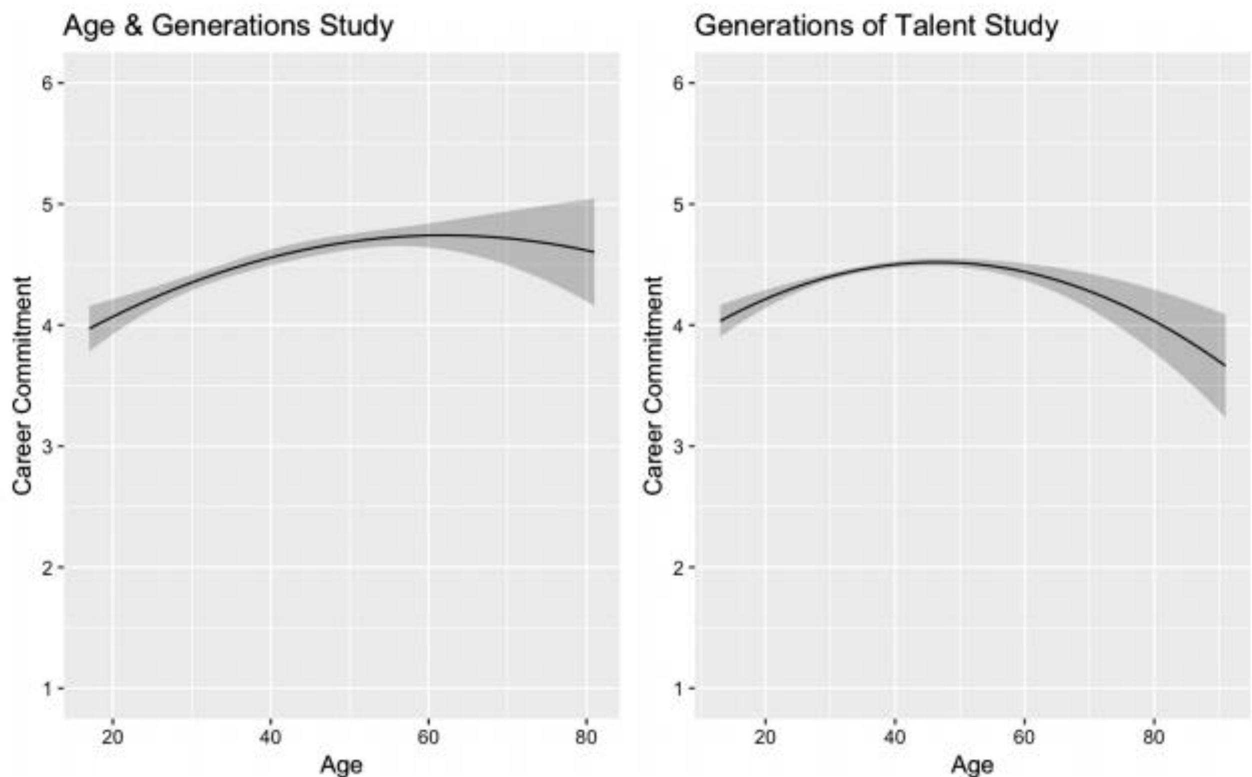
Appendix B: Katz, Rudolph and Zacher's (2019) negative curvilinear relationship between chronological age and career commitment

Figure 2

The negative curvilinear relationship between chronological age and career commitment. The predicted areas represent the 95% confidence intervals for Katz, Rudolph and Zacher's (2019) regression model



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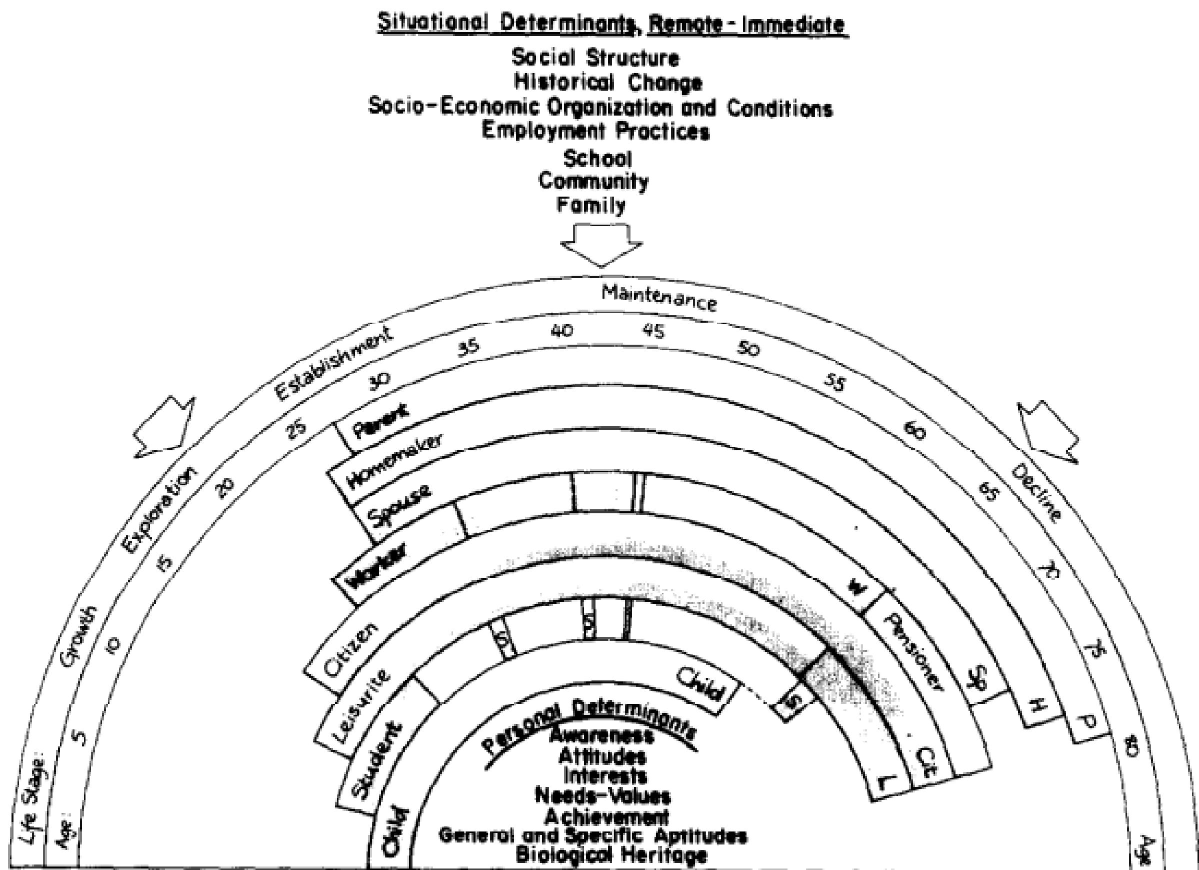
Appendix C: Graphic representation of Super's (1980) career rainbow

Figure 3

Schematic representation of Super's (1980) Life-Career Rainbow with nine associated life roles



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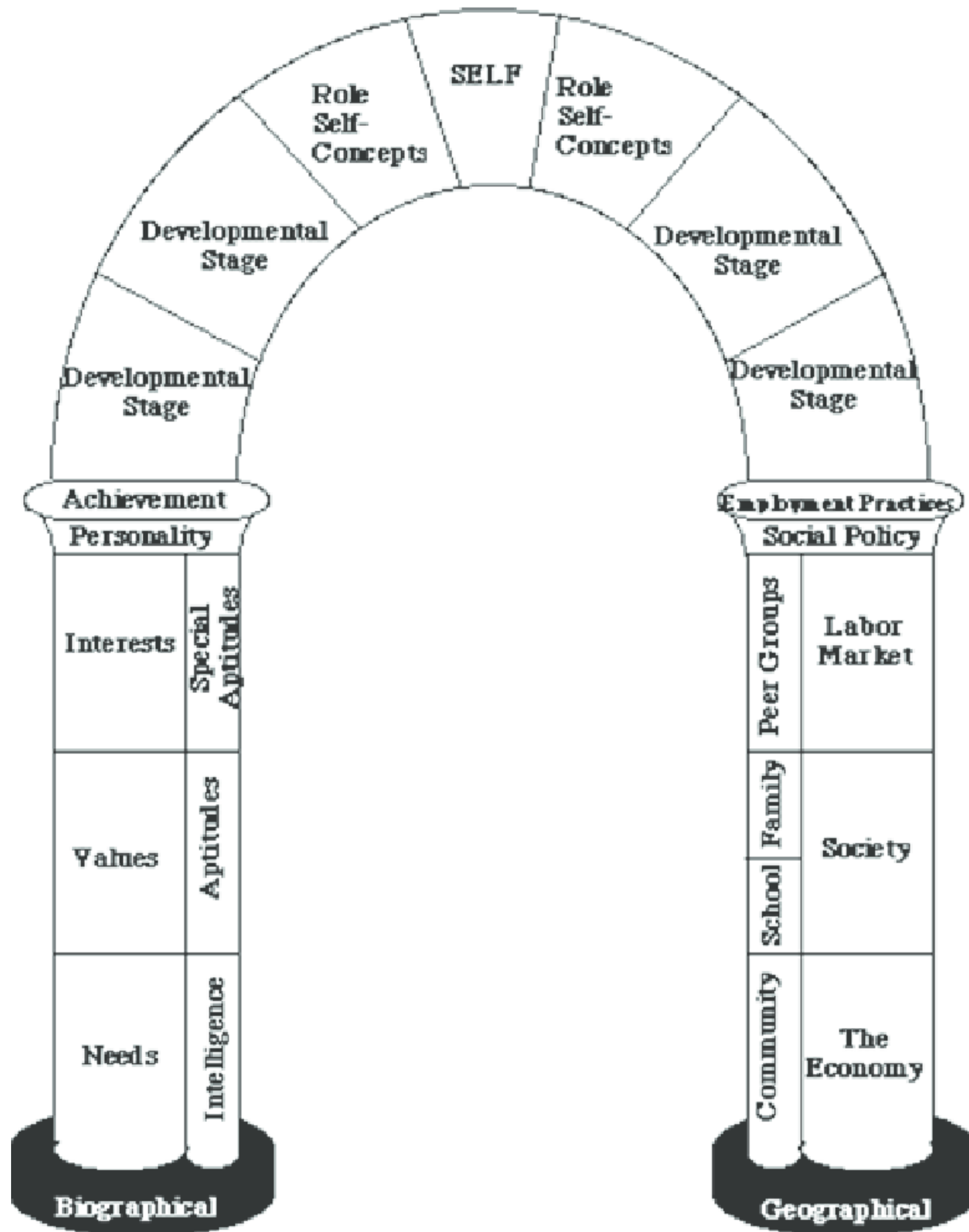
Appendix D: Archway of career determinants

Figure 4

Archway model of career determinants (Super, 1990)



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Appendix E: List of Jane Austen films, TV series and film adaptations

Alexander, J. (Director). (2008). *Sense and Sensibility* [Film]. BBC.

Andrews, G. (Director). (2008). *Lost in Austen* [TV-series]. ITV.

Baraka, R. (Director). (2019). *Pride and Prejudice: Atlanta* [TV-Film]. A+E Networks, Big Dreams Entertainment & Swirl Films.

Black, A. (Director). (2003). *Pride and Prejudice: A latter-day comedy* [Film]. Faller, J. & Griffin, K [Producers].

Blackburn, O., Clarke, L., & Sturridge, C. (Directors). (2019). *Sanditon* [TV series]. Red Planet Productions.

Brough, B. (Director). (2011). *Scents and Sensibility* [Film]. Brough, B., Straga, A., & Wiscombe, B.

Chanda, G. (Director). (2004). *Bride and Prejudice* [Film]. Kintop Pictures, Pathé, Miramax & UK Film Council.

Coke, C. (Director). (1980). *Pride and Prejudice* [TV-miniseries]. BBC Two.

Davies, A. (Director). (1997). *Emma* [Film]. Haft, P. C. S. [Producer].

De Wilde, A. (Director). (2020). *Emma* [Film]. Bevin, T., Fellner, E., Broadbent, G., & Czernin, P. [Producers].

Gracia, A. (Director). (2011). *From Prada to Nada* [Film]. Odd Lot Entertainment, Lionsgate & Gilbert Entertainment.

Harrison, K. (1998). *Wishbone: Pup Fiction* [Episode]. PBS.

Heckerling, A. (Director). (1995). *Clueless* [Film]. Paramount Pictures.

Hess, J. (Director). (2013). *Austenland* [Film]. Mayer, S., & Mingacci, G.

Ivory, J. (Director). (1980). *Jane Austen in Manhattan* [Film]. Merchant Ivory Productions.

Jarrold, J. (Director). (2007). *Becoming Jane* [Film]. Bernstein, R., Broadbent, G., & Rae, D. [Producers].

Jones, J. (Director). (2007). *Northanger Abbey* [Film]. Granada Productions, & WGBH Boston.

Langton, S. (Director). (1995). *Pride and Prejudice* [TV-miniseries]. BBC One.

Lee, A. (Director). (1995). *Sense and Sensibility* [Film]. Columbia Pictures & Mirage Enterprises.

Leonard, R. Z. (Director). (1940). *Pride and Prejudice* [Film]. MGM.

MacDonald, I. B. (Director). (2007). *Mansfield Park* [Film]. Company Pictures.

Maguire, S. (Director). (2001). *Bridget Jones Diary* [Film]. Working Title Films, StudioCanal, & Universal Pictures.

McGrath, D. (Director). (1996). *Emma* [Film]. Matchmaker Films, & Haft Entertainment.

Menon, R. (Director). (2000). *Kandukondain Kandukondain* [Film]. Kalaippuli S Thanu.

Michell, R. (Director). (1995). *Persuasion* [Film]. BBC, BBC Films, & WGHB.

Nunez, V. (Director). (1993). *Ruby in Paradise* [Film]. Crofford, K., & Gowan, S. [Producers].

O'Hanlon, J. (Director). (2009). *Emma* [TV-miniseries]. BBC.

Ojha, R. (Director). (2010). *Aisha* [Film]. PVR Pictures.

Percival, D. (Director). (2013). *Death comes to Pemberley* [TV-miniseries]. PBS.

Rozema, P. (Director). (1999). *Mansfield Park* [Film]. HAL Films, Arts Council England, & BBC Films.

Schlesinger, J. (Director). (1995). *Cold Comfort Farms* [Film]. Thames Television.

Shergold, A. (Director). (2007). *Persuasion* [Film]. BBC, Clerkenwell Films, & WGBH.

Steers, B. (Director). (2016). *Pride and Prejudice vs Zombies* [Film]. Cross Creek Pictures, Sierra Pictures, MadRiver Pictures, QC Entertainment, Allison Shearmur Productions, Handsomecharlie Films, & Head Gear Films.

Stillman, W. (Director). (1990). *Metropolitan* [Film]. Stillman, W [Producer].

Stillman, W. (Director). (2016). *Love and Friendship* [Film]. Blinder Films, Chic Films, Revolver Films, & Westerly Films.

Su, B., & Dunlap, M. (Directors). (2012). *The Lizzie Bennet Diaries* [Web series]. Pemberley Digital.

Swicord, R. (Director). (2007). *Jane Austen Book Club* [Film]. Calley, J., Lynn, J., Napper, D., & Swicord, R. [Producers].

Wright, J. (Director). (2005). *Pride and Prejudice* [Film]. Working Title Films, Universal Pictures, & StudioCanal.

Appendix F: Psychohistorical matrix of career development across Jane Austen's historical stages

	Growth (Birth – 15 years)				**Exploration** (15 – 25 years)			**Establishment** (25 – 44 years)	
	Prevocational-curiosity (0–4 years)	**Fantasy** (4–11 years)	**Interest** (11–13 years)	**Capacity** (13–15 years)	**Crystallisation** (15 – 17 years)	**Specification** (17–21 years)	**Actualisation & Implementation** (21 -25 years)	**Trial** (25–31 years)	**Stabilisation** (31–45 years)
Steventon (1775-1787)									
Juvenilia (1787-1795)									
Novels (1795-1800)									
Bath (1800-1805)									
Chawton (1805-1817)									

Appendix G: Chronological list of Master's and Doctoral degree psychobiographical outputs at South African Universities[30]

No	Subject	Researcher	Degree	Year	University	Gender
1	Cornelis Jacobus Langenhoven	Burgers, M P O	MA	1939	University of the Witwatersrand (Wits)	M
2	Louis Leipoldt	Burgers, M P O	DLitt	1960	Wits	M
3	Ingrid Jonker	Van der Merwe, L M	PhD	1978	University of the Free State (UFS)	F
4	Ingrid Jonker	Buys, J. C.	MA	1995	University of Pretoria (UP)	F
5	Jan Christiaan Smuts	Fouché, J P	DPhil	1999	University of Port Elizabeth (UPE)	M
6	Helen Martins	Bareira, L	MA	2001	UPE	F
7	Bantu Stephen Biko	Kotton, D	MA	2002	UPE	M
8	Balthazar John Vorster	Vorster, M S	MA	2003	UPE	M
9	Wessel Johannes (Hansie) Cronje	Warmenhoven, A	MA	2004	UPE	M
10	Mother Teresa	Stroud, L	DPhil	2004	UPE	F
11	Albert Schweitzer	Edwards, M J	MA	2004	UPE	M
12	Cornelis Jacobus Langenhoven	Jacobs, A	MA	2005	UPE	M
13	Karen Horney	Green, S	MA	2006	Rhodes University (RU)	F
14	Wessel Johannes (Hansie) Cronje	Warmenhoven, A	PhD	2006	RU	M
15	Christiaan Neethling Barnard	Van Niekerk, R	MA	2007	Stellenbosch University (SU)	M
16	Ray Charles	Biggs, I	MA	2007	RU	M
17	Hendrik Verwoerd	Claasen, M	MA	2007	Nelson Mandela University (NMU)	M
18	Melanie Klein	Espinosa, M	MA	2008	RU	F
19	Herman Mashaba	McWalter, M A	MA	2008	University of Johannesburg (UJ)	M
20	Isie Smuts	Smuts, C	MA	2009	NMU	F
21	Helen Keller	Van Genechten, D	MA	2009	NMU	F
22	Jeffrey Dahmer	Chéze, E	MA	2009	NMU	M
23	Emily Hobhouse	Welman, C	MA	2009	UFS	F
24	Mahatma Gandhi	Pillay, K	MA	2009	NMU	M
25	Kurt Cobain	Pieterse, C	MA	2009	NMU	M
26	Vincent van Gogh	Muller, R	MA	2009	NMU	M
27	Ralph John Rabie	Uys, H M G	MA	2010	NMU	M
28	Ernesto 'Che' Guevara	Kolesky, C	MA	2010	NMU	M
29	Frans Martin Claerhout	Roets, M	MA	2010	UFS	M
30	Alan Paton	Greeff, M	MA	2010	UFS	M
31	Paul Jackson Pollock	Muller, T	MA	2010	NMU	M

[30] Although every effort has been made to comprehensively update this table, it should be acknowledged that this table remains a sample of all psychobiographical outputs. Therefore, some studies may not be mentioned in this list.

No	Subject	Researcher	Degree	Year	University	Gender
32	Christiaan de Wet	Henning, R	PhD	2010	RU	M
33	Bram Fischer	Swart, D K	MA	2010	UFS	M
34	Desmond Tutu	Eliastam, L M	MSocSci	2010	University of Fort Hare (UFH)	M
35	Brenda Fassie	Gogo, O	MA	2011	UFS	F
36	Olive Schreiner	Perry, M	PhD	2012	UFS	F
37	Winston Churchill	Moolman, B A	MA	2012	NMU	M
38	Friedrich Nietzsche	Booysen, D D	MA	2012	NMU	M
39	John Wayne Gacy	Pieterse, J	MA	2012	NMU	M
40	John Winston Lennon	Kitching, P H	MA	2012	NMU	M
41	Francis Bacon	Kerr, N	MA	2012	NMU	M
42	Josephine Baker	Eckley, S	MA	2012	NMU	F
43	Rev James Warren 'Jim' Jones	Baldwin, G A	MA	2013	NMU	M
44	Martin Luther King	Twaku, U	MA	2013	NMU	M
45	Ellen Kuzwayo	Arosi, Z	MA	2013	NMU	F
46	Helen Martins	Mitchell, D	MA	2013	RU	F
47	William Wilberforce	Daubermann, B P	MA	2013	NMU	M
48	Helen Suzman	Nel, C	PhD	2013	UFS	F
49	Beyers Naudé	Burnell, B	PhD	2013	UFS	M
50	Steve Jobs	Ndoro, T	MBA	2013	RU	M
51	Antwone Fisher	Wannenburg, N	MA	2013	RU	M
52	Ian Kevin Curtis	Baldwin, G A	PhD	2013	NMU	M
53	Michael Jackson	Ruiters, J	MA	2014	RU	M
54	Richard Trenton Chase	Nel, H	MA	2014	UFS	M
55	Martin Luther King	Pietersen, S	MA	2014	NMU	M
56	Steve Jobs	Moore, N	MA	2014	NMU	M
57	Steve Jobs	Ndoro, T T R	MA	2014	RU	M
58	John Henry Newman	Mitchell, G P	MA	2014	NMU	M
59	Dambudzo Marechera	Muchena, K C	MA	2014	NMU	M
60	Christiaan Neethling Barnard	Lekhelebana, V A	MA	2014	NMU	M
61	Roald Dahl	Holz, T	PhD	2014	UFS	M
62	Pope John Paul II	Navsaria, K	PhD	2014	NMU	M
63	Glenda Watson Kahlenberg	Connelly, R E	PhD	2014	NMU	F
64	Wilford Woodruff and Gordon Bitner Hinckley	Saccaggi, C F	DLitt et Phil	2015	UJ	M
65	Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill	Human, S C	MA	2015	University of South Africa	M
66	Charlize Theron	Prenter, T	MA	2015	RU	F
67	Marie Curie	Roets, E	MA	2015	RU	F
68	Bashar alAssad	Kerrin, C K	MA	2015	UJ	M
69	Vuyiswa Mackonie	Baatjies, V P	MSocSc	2015	University of KwaZuluNatal	F
70	Margaret Hilda Thatcher	Marx, M	MA	2015	NMU	F
71	Brand Pretorius	Harwood, C S	MComm	2016	NMU	M
72	Steve Jobs	Du Plessis, R	MA	2016	UFS	M
73	John Lennon	Osorio, D	MA	2016	UFS	M

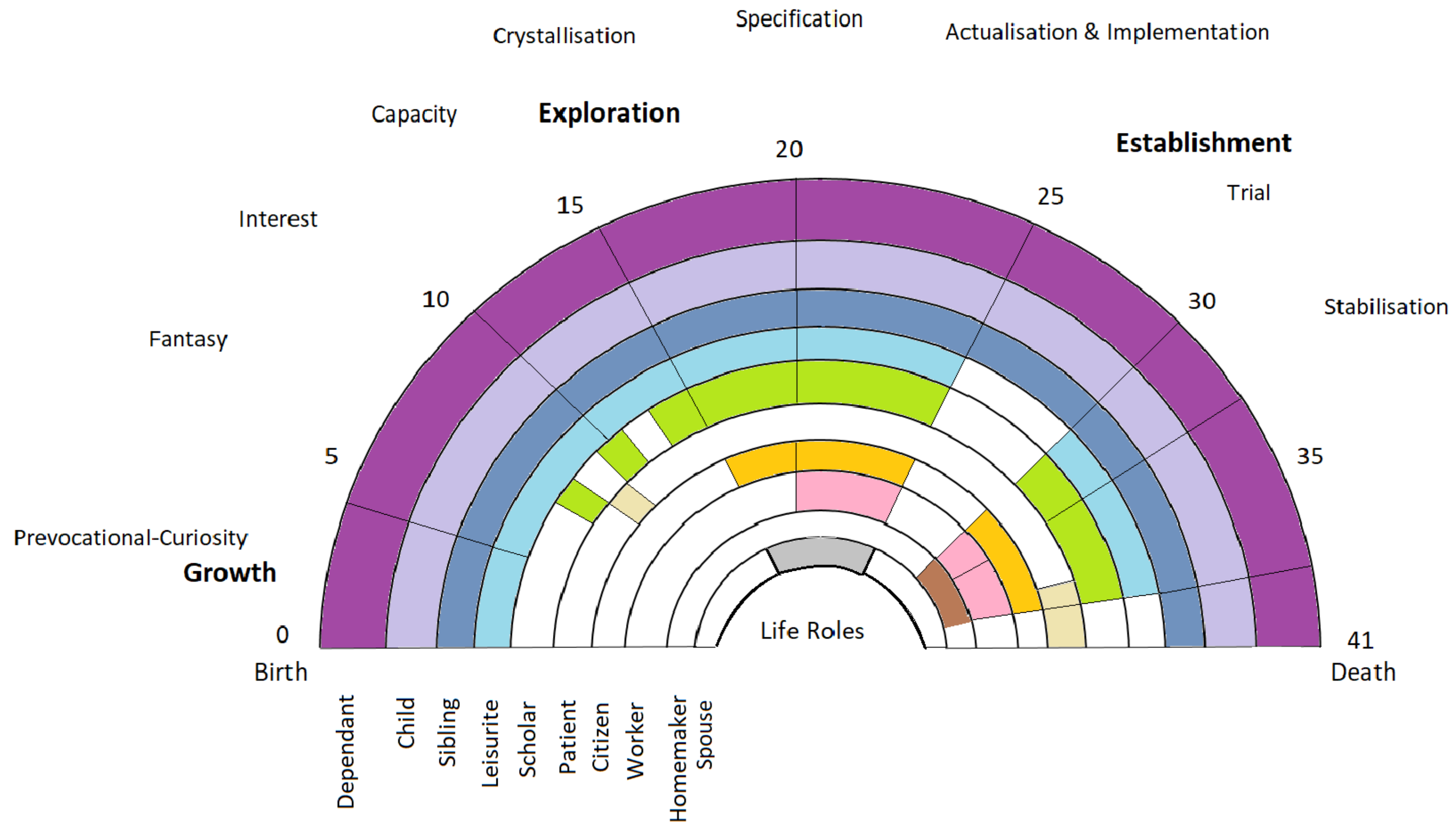
No	Subject	Researcher	Degree	Year	University	Gender
74	Maya Angelou	Harisunker, N	MA	2016	UJ	F
75	Sybrand Gerhardus Pretorius	Harwood, C S	MCom	2016		M
76	Temple Grandin	Wannenburg, N	PhD	2016	RU	F
77	Paulo Coelho	Mayer, C H	PhD	2016	UP	M
78	Milton Hyland Erickson	Ramasamy, K	PhD	2017	NMU	M
79	Ellen Johnson Sirleaf	Manana, S	MComm	2017	NMU	F
80	Coco Chanel	Verwey, L	MA	2017	UJ	F
81	Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman	Hoque, A	MA	2017	UJ	M
82	Steve Jobs	Van Staden, D	MA	2017	NMU	M
83	Gary Player	Futter, T	MA	2017	NMU	M
84	Theodore Robert Bundy	McGivern, K B	MA	2017	NMU	M
85	Robert Nesta 'Bob' Marley	Willis, L S	MA	2017	NMU	M
86	John Wayne Gacy	Coetsee, E E	PhD	2017	UFS	M
87	Richard Charles Nicholas Branson	Preston, A. L.	PhD	2017	UFH	M
88	Ian Kevin Curtis	Kitching, P H	PhD	2017		M
89	Freddy Mercury	Louw, D	MA	2018	UFS	M
90	Clive Staples Lewis	Oosthuizen, G	MA	2018	UFS	M
91	Sylvia Plath	Panelatti, A F	PhD	2018	UFS	F
92	Beyers Naudé	Fourie, R.	PhD	2018		M
93	Arnold Schoenberg	De Bruin, G	MMus	2018	UFS	M
94	Amy Jade Winehouse	Hoque, A	MA	2018	UJ	F
95	Howard Hughes	Sandison, A	DPhil	2018	NMU	M
96	Joan Rivers	Nell, W	MA	2019	UFS	F
97	Michel Foucault	Subermoney, N	MA	2019	UJ	M
98	Robert Gabriel Mugabe	De Jager, E A	MA	2019	UJ	M
99	Corrie ten Boom	Counihan, D J	MA	2019	UJ	F
100	Ingrid Jonker	Rust, B.	MSocSc	2019	UFS	F
101	Margaret Hilda Thatcher	Winter, R.	MA	2019	UFS	F
102	Joseph Stalin	Matsolo, V.	MA	2019	NMU	M
103	Theodore Robert Bundy	Landsberg, M.	MA	2019	NMU	M
104	Martin Luther King, Jr.	Perils, C M	MA	2019	NMU	M
105	Nkosi Johnson	Ntlangu, S. T.	MA	2019	NMU	M
106	Noel Chabani Manganyi	Ngcobo, Q.	MA	2019	NMU	M
107	Oprah Winfrey	Oosthuysen, Y	MA	2019	NMU	F
108	Eugéne Nielen Marais	Hugo, Q	MPsych	2020	UFS	M
109	Sol Plaatjie	Welman, C	PhD	2020	UFS	M
110	Maya Angelou	De Waal, L	MA	2020	NMU	F
111	Victor Emil Frankl	Bushkin, H.	PhD	2020	NMU	M

Table 2 adapted from Van Niekerk, Prenter, & Fouché (2019), Rust (2019), & Landsberg (2019) with additional information retrieved from various South African institutional repositories.

Appendix H: Jane Austen's Career Rainbow

Figure 4

Jane Austen's life-roles situated within her life stages within the life-spaces.



Appendix I: Reflective Questions

Why am I selecting Jane Austen? Is there sufficient information available about Jane Austen? What are my feelings towards Jane Austen? What do I want to know about Jane Austen? Is Jane Austen of interest to people other than myself? Will understanding Jane Austen help to understand other similar types of people?	C. Du Plessis (2017)
Was Jane Austen a public figure during her lifetime? Do I have the time, energy, and drive to study this historic figure in depth? Is Jane Austen of interest and long deceased? Have I thought through the ethical and legal implications of reporting on her/his life? Do I "feel called" to study Jane Austen? Was Jane Austen a public figure in her lifetime? Is there enough background information on the Jane Austen for me to develop a satisfactory knowledge base from which to proceed? Why am I conducting this psychobiography? What can this study add to knowledge of Jane Austen that is not already available in biographies or documentary films on the Jane Austen? What and how much information -- historical, biographical, and psychological – is already available on Jane Austen? How much have I already read? What are my first-, second-, and third-person sources/documents? Is Super's theory and my initial research questions still the relevant? Do I need to adapt theory or the goals of the inquiry? Have I avoided confirmatory bias during the research process? Have I considered, weighed, and evaluated any possible alternative explanations for the event or Jane Austen's behaviour of focus yet? Have I attended to ethical issues throughout the course of this study? Did any ethical challenges emerge during the research and reporting of this study, and did I take established steps to address these issues and limit the harmful consequences that may have emerged in the research? Do I want to continue research on this Jane Austen and perhaps expand my work into a book? How has this research enhanced both my research skills and my counselling skills?	Ponterotto (2017)

Table adapted from Ponterotto (2017) and Du Plessis (2017).